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# Near East/South Asia Report

LEBANESE CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT  
ON FIFTH PARTY CONGRESS

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Beirut AL-NIDA' in Arabic 6 Jul 86 pp 13-20

[Article: "George Hawi's Report on the Draft Central Committee Report to the Lebanese Communist Party's Fifth National Conference: The Lebanese Communist Party Central Committee Decides To Hold the Party's Fifth National Conference toward the End of the Present Year"]

[Text] The Lebanese Communist Party's central committee has endorsed the appeal to hold the party's fifth national conference and has set the latter part of this year, 1986, as a date for the holding of the conference, with its agenda to include the following points:

First, the general political report on the developments the country has witnessed since the fourth conference, the party's position regarding them and the tasks facing the party and the Lebanese national movement domestically and in the Arab and international contexts.

Second, the organizational situation in the party and amendments to the by-laws.

Third, election of the party's leadership bodies.

The Lebanese Communist Party's central committee held a session of meetings last June which it devoted to preparations for the party's fifth national conference. In this session of meetings, the central committee discussed the draft general report it will present before the conference, as the formulation committee assigned to prepare it has presented it, and discussed the report which Comrade George Hawi, central committee secretary general, submitted on the draft central committee report to the party's fifth national conference.

After thorough discussion, the central committee unanimously approved the draft report it is to present to the fifth national conference and the secretary general's report on that, considering them two integrated documents for the conference's preparatory discussion in all the party's bodies, organizations and sectors and among all its members.

In a communique issued on its session of meetings, the central committee addressed all Communists, whatever their current organizational positions

might be, including Communists who are not officially enrolled for one reason or another in specific, fixed organizational contexts, on behalf of an immediate start to discussion of the preparatory documents and participation in preparation for the conference and participation in its activities. It called on Communists to get the party's friends and the broadest groups of the people, in particular the people resisting and fighting against the Israeli occupation, the people fighting and struggling against factional dominance and the broadest masses of the working class, the working people of the city and countryside, young people, students, women and intellectuals, to take part in the activities of preparing for the conference.

The central committee also called upon all allied national forces and Arab progressive and revolutionary forces, especially the fraternal Communist parties in the Arab countries, to take part in the discussion of the party's documents and its political plan and missions.

The central committee declared that the party's press and media would be available to open discussion for all Communists and their friends and allies and everyone who wanted to participate positively and constructively in this discussion.

It called on all Communists to act with self-sacrifice on behalf of completing the task of building up the fighting mass Communist Party.

AL-NIDA' is publishing the report Comrade George Hawi presented at the session of central committee meetings concerning the draft central committee report to the party's fifth national conference and is publishing the text of the communique issued by the sessions of the party's central committee meeting.

#### George Hawi's Report

Late June 1986

#### Introduction

The draft Lebanese Communist Party central committee report to the party's fifth national conference consists of seven sections:

The first section deals with the international, Arab and domestic circumstances in whose framework the 1982 Israeli aggression against Lebanon occurred, proceeding from the party's evaluation that this aggression, in its nature, its magnitude and its actual and potential results, constituted the most serious exceptional, and qualitatively most important, event in the history of the struggle in our country. The party, in its preparation for the fifth conference, proceeds from this event specifically and again reviews the development of the struggle in the period preceding it, up to its occurrence.

In the second section, the draft report pauses to consider the solidarity of perseverance in confronting this aggression, then, in the third section, moves on to the new stage complementing this heroic confrontation, which



however is distinguished in qualitative terms by the outbreak of the Lebanese national resistance against the Israeli occupation and the beginning of the Lebanese revolutionary movement's process of confronting the occupation and its political consequences in all contexts.

In the fourth section, under the title "Toward the Triumph of the Democratic National Revolution," the draft report deals with the nature of the current stage, pausing to consider the situation which has emerged in Lebanon under the effect of the victories the national forces, especially the Lebanese National Resistance Front, have realized -- their victory in the struggle for liberation, where the watchwords of liberation were advanced in conjunction with the struggle against the forces functioning as agents of the occupation, which had consolidated their position under the influence of this occupation in the framework of the public and of the authorities, that is, the struggle against the Phalangist regime, which came to power in the shadow of the occupation. In this section, the draft report shows how the successes realized against the Israeli occupation and its agents broached the discussion of the country's destiny, that is, in terms of the direction in which Lebanon will develop, not just in the general national arena but also in the arena of its political, economic and social system. After a profound analysis of the nature and newly-created characteristics of the current crisis, the draft report spells out the tasks and course of the democratic national revolution in light of the party's view of the development of the revolutionary process in Lebanon, which it stressed in its second conference and reaffirmed in its third and fourth conferences. Proceeding from the party's conviction, which had become firmly implanted through experience and practice, that there is no scope for real democratic development in Lebanon and for revolutionary development in Lebanon in isolation from the surrounding regional circumstances and in isolation from the development of the revolutionary struggle throughout the region between the Arab revolutionary movement on the one hand and the enemies this movement is facing, imperialism, Zionism and reaction, on the other -- proceeding from this conviction, the draft report, in the fifth section, pauses to contemplate the Arab situation, from its current state to the problems and issues that face it then the strategic tasks the party is propounding for the sake of creating revolutionary change in the Arab situation and for establishing an Arab revolutionary movement of a new kind which is capable of carrying out and realizing the tasks of this change.

The draft report then moves on to a sixth section, which deals with the current international situation in whose framework the party is struggling, proceeding from its conviction that the Lebanese domestic struggle is interlinked with the national one throughout the region and the basic struggle which is taking place in our time between the camp of capitalism, imperialism and war, headed by the United States of America, on the one hand, and the camp of socialism, liberation, social progress and peace, in whose vanguard stands the Soviet Union, on the other. That is a comprehensive struggle for existence which deals with all areas of life and relations. Consequently we are a part of this struggle and must realize its current essence, nature and characteristics, the extent to which it is suited to the development of our struggle and how we can, on the one hand, take part in this struggle and on the other hand benefit from the distinctive quality of our

times to develop our struggle, in view of its inherent benefit for the development of the revolutionary process in our country.

As for the seventh section, that deals with the organizational tasks that have been presented to the party: How has the party organizationally faced the political tasks and carried them out? What are the positive and negative features of our activity in this area? How, moreover, must the party be built and prepared so that it will be able to carry out the tasks the conference will spell out, which the draft report will recommend to the Communists?

The organization, in terms of form and substance, never was isolated from the political tasks, from the political plan, since every form of organization serves the execution of a specific political plan and consequently the party organization must be built and adapted in light of the conditions we anticipate, so that it will be able to perform the party's tasks and the national tasks in light of anticipated conditions. This section will constitute the draft organizational report to be presented to the central organizational conference, whose resolutions and recommendations will be set down in the party's national conference.

#### Section One: The International, Arab and Domestic Circumstances in Whose Shadow the Israeli Aggression Occurred

As stated previously, this section of the draft report will deal with the international, Arab and domestic circumstances in whose shadow the Israeli aggression occurred, since this aggression was the most serious and important of historic events, an event which constitutes an important historic way-station in the course of the revolutionary movement in our country and the region. The draft report, in this area, tries to refocus the thoughts and ideological premises the party discussed at length and in depth before the aggression, especially at the party's fourth conference, which anticipated the aggression and spelled out the reasons why it was likely to occur, as well as central committee meetings before the aggression, which stressed the likelihood, indeed inevitability, of its occurrence and spelled out its magnitude and objectives, then central committee and party leadership board meetings during the aggression and the heroic struggle against it, then the evaluation issued by the party's boards, leaders and newspapers of the circumstances of the aggression and the means for standing up to it and resisting it during the stage following that.

The first section of the report tries to restore focus on these issues which revolve about a major axis, namely, that at a time when the enemy was at his maximum degree of readiness and preparedness and maximum degree of cooperation with all his partners domestically, regionally and internationally, the forces confronting the aggression, in the Lebanese, regional and international contexts, were not at the necessary degree of readiness and preparedness and the necessary minimum of cooperation, coordination and mutual understanding with respect to ways of confronting and standing up to the aggression and preventing it from succeeding.

The success the aggression realized by means of an exceptional thrust which realized the highest degrees of insolence, including contempt for world

public opinion, the belittlement of the importance and effect of the relationship of forces in our era and disregard for Arab public opinion in its entirety -- such a success did not reflect a change in the relationship of forces in the international sphere or in the major distinctive feature of our age, but was one of the most important manifestations of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary onslaught, whose goal it was to prohibit the concentration of the balance of forces in the international sphere in the direction of breaking imperialism's strategic superiority and continuing the tilt of the relationship of forces in favor of the camp of liberation, progress and socialism, in whose vanguard is the Soviet Union.

The aggression benefited from a lack of proper coordination among the forces concerned with thwarting it in the international sphere, the Arab sphere and the domestic sphere, and in particular from a failure to establish a true alliance, true coordination, cooperation and mutual understanding between the socialist camp, at whose head was the Soviet Union, in the first instance, the Arab national liberation movement forces which were concerned in a greater fashion with the situation on the Lebanese stage, especially Syria and the Palestinian revolution, in the second instance, and the Lebanese national forces directly concerned with standing up to the aggression on the Lebanese stage in the third instance.

#### The Major Flaw in the Confrontation Lies in the Arab Situation

The disruption in the relationship among these various parties extended to cover various aspects of the situation, in terms of each party's knowledge of what the other party might be likely to do during this stage specifically or in terms of the knowledge of how the Lebanese stage was likely to act, and the evaluation of how the Arab stage was likely to act, or in terms of resources for jointly coordinating and challenging the aggression in a better manner. The relationship of international forces could not perform its function in isolation from the relationship of regional forces, in isolation from the background on which it would depend in the confrontation. The major disruption which we confronted in the context of foreign factors was the amorphous Arab terrain and the negative Arab circumstances which were not propitious for the functioning of the relationship of forces in the international arena. That is, the main area of weakness in the confrontation of the aggression lay in the Arab situation itself, which constituted a source of disruption in the functioning of the propitious international situation.

At this point the draft report moves on to the second chapter of this section, which is related to the Arab circumstances in whose shadow the aggression occurred. In this regard, mention is again made of the party's analysis and its positions concerning Arab conditions, which it had previously dealt with in its fourth conference and whose validity events and developments have affirmed, regarding the subject of its analysis of the historic and specific importance of the step of the Camp David agreements as a sort of peace between a segment of the Arab bourgeoisie, which in a previous era constituted part of the national struggle against imperialism and Zionism, on the one hand, and Zionism and imperialism on the other, and the importance of this shift on the course of the national struggle in the framework of the region, or regarding the subject of means for standing up to the Camp

David agreements and the inability of the Arab forces which declared pro forma enmity to these agreements to formulate an integrated platform which would inhibit and contain these agreements. From there it moves on to the organization of a counterattack for thwarting them and propounds an alternative platform to that of Camp David on whose basis the struggle against Israel and for a proper resolution to the national cause can occur.

#### Facing the Crisis of the Arab National Liberation Movement

This chapter of the draft report deals with a detailed outline of the collapse in Syrian-Iraqi relations and its effect on the disruption which has arisen in the Arab context, the Iraqi-Iranian war and its role in the aggravation of this disruption, and the positive and negative features of the Syrian position. After this it moves on to deal with the disruption in the framework of the relationship among Arab nationalist and progressive forces. The party in this regard reasserts what it had previously propounded, namely that the disruption in the Arab context was not restricted to the reactionary governments' positions or those of the nationalist governments, but indeed extended essentially to the national and progressive parties and forces, including the revolutionary parties, among them the Arab Communist parties.

There are two sides to the crisis of the Arab national liberation movement. The first is the class nature of the forces assuming leadership of the Arab national liberation movement at this stage -- a class nature which makes it incapable of following up on the tasks and requirements of liberation in an era when the tasks of national liberation are intertwined and interconnected with the tasks of social liberation and progress. The second is the inability of the revolutionary alternative, the inability of the working class and its political parties, foremost among them the Communist parties, to draw up and pursue a combative platform which is indeed able to bring the Arab national liberation movement out of its crisis, since here they specifically have become a part and an aspect of this crisis.

The reactionary forces in the Arab countries were part of the Israeli aggression against Lebanon, but the progressives of the Arab countries were not part of the confrontation of this aggression. This disruption in the Arab context, in its general official framework and in the framework of the national liberation movement and the Arab revolutionary movement, is therefore what accounted for the major disruption.

#### The Palestine Revolution: Positive Features and Mistaken Gambles on the Part of the Right-Wing Leadership

The draft report went on to discuss the Palestinian circumstances in whose shadow the aggression took place, concentrating on the positive role of the Palestine revolution in Lebanon, its anti-imperialist role in the regional and international context, its positive role within the Arab situation on grounds that it is a revolutionary movement, its role of hostility toward Arab reaction and the treasonous platform embodied in the Camp David agreements, and also its role in the Lebanese domestic situation opposed to the forces of domestic reaction and the reactionary Lebanese regime, inasmuch as



it is one means for hastening the domestic struggle and one element in intensifying the crisis of the Lebanese regime in all areas, the domestic national area, the democratic area, the socioeconomic area and the intellectual and cultural area. The Palestine revolution has constituted one of the elements which have hastened and deepened the crisis of the regime and made it more comprehensive.

Conversely, the draft report also reviews the negative aspects of the Palestine revolution in terms of its failure to anticipate the aggression and its magnitude and limits as a result of the illusions the right-wing Palestinian leadership had concerning the Arab reactionary countries' desire to protect the revolution and prevent the aggression and concerning their ability to do so. The draft report reveals the danger of the right-wing platform in the leadership of the Palestinian revolution, its constant propensity to bargain, its dependence on the illusions of intermediate solutions vis-a-vis imperialism and its illusion that it can occupy a position in the framework of these solutions, in addition to its platform vis-a-vis domestic reaction and its poor relations with Syria.

#### Lebanon -- A Geographic Theater or Cause in Its Own Right?

The draft report pauses to contemplate the general Palestine Liberation Organization view and treatment of Lebanon as a geographic theater and group of human factors favorable to the struggle, not as a cause in its own right in which the Palestine revolution could have a future as much as it could constitute a future for the Lebanese revolutionary movement. The draft report also paused to consider such practices and policies as the effort to "hatch" local pro forma organizations and encourage religious currents functioning as crises impinging on the Lebanese revolutionary forces. More serious and important than this is replacement of the use of the distinctive features of the Lebanese arena as auxiliary factors for developing the revolution within the occupied territories -- replacement of this task by the effort to build state institutions on the Lebanese stage, which paved the way for the spread of propaganda regarding a settlement and damaged the Palestinian revolution's credibility.

#### Crisis in the Liberation Organization: A Basic Manifestation of the Crisis of the Arab National Liberation Movement

In addition to that, indeed in affirmation of all this, the PLO leadership worked to pre-empt Lebanese national decisionmaking in various ways and means, from pre-emption in word to pre-emption in deed as a result of the disruption in the balance of power, aside from the worsening struggles within its ranks and the various forms of excesses which harmed its relationship with the masses.

While the report reveals the negative features of the practices of the right-wing Palestinian leadership, it concludes that these practices reflect the essence of the internal crisis in the PLO, a crisis which is considered one of the basic manifestations of the crisis of the Arab national liberation movement.

### Aggression Was a "Lebanese Necessity" for Some Forces

The draft report, at the end of this section, moves on to the internal circumstances in whose shadow the aggression occurred, to assert the conclusion that by the time it occurred the Israeli aggression against Lebanon had become in effect a "Lebanese necessity" as far as specific Lebanese forces were concerned. While the Phalange Party and Bashir al-Jumayyil were foremost among these forces, they in reality represented the dominant forces in the political-economic-social system in Lebanon and after their failure to push their plan through by their own forces no longer had recourse except in Israel, and made a quantum shift in their position, moving from fascism to blatant national treason.

It is no longer a secret that the Lebanese regime, embodied in the official authorities at that time, agreed to the aggression in coordination with the American position, and many of the currents of what is called political Maronitism agreed to the aggression, without, however, assuming a contributing role in planning for it or in coordinating and cooperating with it.

Moreover, broad segments of the Islamic bourgeoisie which had lost patience over the length and complexity of the crisis gambled on the occupation as a way out of the crisis, but came around and changed their position after discovering the true nature of the aggression, the extent of its radical character and its imminent engulfment of the Lebanese domestic equation in a manner harmful to its interests, and proceeded to sympathize with the Lebanese national and Palestinian resistance -- indeed, some groups of it helped participate in this resistance, without, however, losing the desire to use the aggression as a way of solving the Lebanese crisis in behalf of consolidating their positions and in particular losing the desire to exploit the American political and military solutions to the Lebanese crisis in the direction of rebuilding the Lebanese regime in a manner which affirmed the dominance of the bourgeoisie, regardless of the proportion of its equity in the new equation.

It met Bashir al-Jumayyil with disapproval, then rejection, after which it treated him as a fait accompli, moving over to reconciliation in the hope that with the substitution of American for Israeli dominance and in the context of American protection it would be possible to re-establish the factional bourgeois system, even if that led to additional concessions in the context of the domestic equation.

### Underestimating the Aggression's Lebanese Goals

The draft report also pauses to consider the seriousness of the Lebanese party's underestimation of the goals of the Israeli aggression, that is, Israel's goals in Lebanon. It is true that Israel invaded Lebanon to expel the Palestinian resistance and Syria from it. However, it also invaded it for Lebanese goals, to make Lebanon a second link in the Camp David agreements, impose peace on it in Egypt's wake and reconstitute Lebanon in terms of identity, essence and relations in a manner which would turn it into a subordinate revolving in the Zionist orbit. The draft report shows how camouflaging or belittling the Lebanese objectives behind the aggression did

not serve the national cause or the Palestine cause specifically as much as it served the goals of the aggression through its negative effect on the ability of the resurgence of Lebanese national and people's powers to defend themselves and the independence of their nation in the face of the Israeli-imperialist onslaught.

#### The National Movement: Its Retreat and Illusions

In addition to these circumstances, the draft report contains serious comprehensive self-criticism, dealing severely with the Lebanese national movement and also dealing with the party, showing how at a time when the right-wing party was diminishing its contradictions and rallying its basic forces and watchwords about a united plan, which was Bashir al-Jumayyil's plan, in the context of the unification of the American-Israeli plan vis-a-vis Lebanon as well, at that time the national movement was abandoning its plan and relinquishing its program, and illusions were emerging among its principal parties concerning other plans and solutions which might be carried out through the legitimate authorities, that is, Ilyas Sarkis, the army and so forth.

The draft report shows that the main reason for the retrenchment in the Lebanese national movement's plan was the great blow it materially and morally sustained in 1976, in particular the martyrdom of its leader Kamal Jumblatt, since, while the Palestine resistance managed to rebuild its forces as a result of the expansion in its powers and Arab contacts, the Lebanese national movement became less able to adhere to its independent program, struggles spread within its ranks and it lost much of its independence relative to the Palestinian resistance, Syria, and the Arab situation in general. Consequently the national movement no longer constituted a factor for mass resurgence in the national sphere, the democratic sphere or the socioeconomic sphere, in spite of the deepening of the socioeconomic crisis and the deterioration in the living conditions of the national masses and masses of the people.

In light of this situation, every action it tried to carry out became a step into the vacuum. As an example of that, the slogan of local councils was propounded in a manner which was not carefully studied; it is an advanced national plan which requires a firm base of political relations and a relationship of forces different from that which prevailed when it was propounded. Hence the retrenchment from it in a manner which was not carefully studied either. The report also pauses to consider the basic parties' lack of readiness to confront aggression at a time when this preoccupation constituted the Communists' main concern.

The draft report in this section concludes by stating that in spite of all the breaches in the front of forces confronting the Israeli aggression, these forces did confront the aggression in a heroic manner in which one of the most splendid forms of solidarity of perseverance was recorded during the siege of Beirut, and that a review of negative features and mistakes in no way diminishes the unblemished features of the confrontation. Indeed, this aspect becomes more brilliant, the heroism becomes more outstanding and the sacrifices weightier if the difficult objective and subjective



circumstances which preceded and accompanied the preparation for the confrontation are taken into consideration.

#### The Second Section: The Solidarity of Heroic Perseverance in Confronting the Aggression

This section deals with the aggression and the heroic perseverance in confronting it. It reminds one again of the goals of the aggression in the Arab, Palestinian and Lebanese contexts and reveals Israel's concealment of the true goals of the aggression. The draft report then reviews how the defensive struggle to confront the aggression took place, pausing in particular to consider the quantum change in the confrontation once the aggression had reached the outskirts of Beirut, that is, once all its goals had become revealed to all the relevant forces there, so that it became necessary to resist with all resources and in all ways.

The fighting which took place around Beirut, in Khaldah, along the Museum axis and in the southern suburbs was qualitatively different from that which went on in Sidon and Tyre and along the coastal line and supplemented the fighting which went on in the mountains and the al-Biq'a', in which the Syrian forces that were attacked while they were in their positions were fundamentally involved. It constituted a model of the heroic perseverance which reached its peak in the solidarity of the perseverance of Beirut.

#### America's Role in Leading the Aggression

In this section we pause to consider America's role in leading the aggression, its political role under Philip Habib's leadership and its military role as well. The draft report observes how the conditions Philip Habib offered were not merely Israeli conditions which he himself was just conveying -- rather, they were also the conditions of America and Arab reaction and dealt with the dimensions of the Palestinian situation and the course of the settlement with Israel, and the conditions of Lebanese reaction were a part of them.

#### The Meaning of the Accession of a Phalangist to the Presidency

This section of the draft report then paused in a fundamental manner before the meaning of Bashir al-Jumayyil's election to the presidency, in its character as an exceptional event in the history of Lebanon which left its effects on the current conditions as a whole, as it affected elements of the development of the struggle breaking out in Lebanon.

The bringing of a Phalangist president (Bashir then Amin al-Jumayyil) to power in Lebanon in the shadow of Israeli bayonets should be viewed as a decision to make a quantum change in the identity of Lebanon and the nature of the power structure in it. It offered the Lebanese crisis chances to emerge from the familiar traditional solutions for resolving all crises in Lebanon and implicitly invested the possibilities of confrontation with the threat of liquidating Lebanon's existing assets, as a result of the nature of the accession of a Phalangist to the presidency and the continuation of the presidency in the hands of the Phalange Party.

## The Manner of Treating the Subject of the Departure from Beirut

In a final chapter of this section, we deal in particular with the issue of the expulsion of the PLO from Beirut and the concomitant circumstances which existed in conjunction with that. In this regard, the draft report casts a critical glance at the Palestinian official position and also at our earlier position regarding this matter. It is true that the error in the official leaders' platform became clearer after the departure from Beirut, but the bases of this error had also become manifest in the manner in which the departure itself was treated. The PLO did not take upon itself the mission of persevering no matter what that might cost and of refusing to leave Beirut whatever the price might be. The negotiations which took place set forth from the principle that there would be a departure and the organization set about seeking to improve the conditions of this departure.

It is also true that Arab and international conditions did not encourage the notion of perseverance at any price, and there is no doubt, either, that basic breaches arose in the Lebanese national situation, which sometimes assumed some manifestations of pressure to urge the PLO leadership to accept the solution of the departure from Beirut. However, in spite of that, subsequent developments of events proved that a possibility for continuing the perseverance existed and that taking off from the principle of persevering at any price could have provided greater opportunities for positively influencing the overall development of the situation at that time. Israel would not have gone into Beirut if it had not been sure that the resistance it would encounter would not be great, as a result of the PLO's departure and consequently the change in the relationship of power in favor of its forces, even though a small number of national forces, including the Communists, continued to be present in positions of defending the capital. The PLO leadership, in conjunction with Lebanese national circles, bears the responsibility of accepting the idea of the multinational forces, American forces in particular, as a means for protecting the organization's departure from Beirut and as a "guarantee" for the security of the camps and the capital! The American swindle of the withdrawal from Beirut paved the way for the Israeli invasion of the capital after the killing of Bashir al-Jumayyil, and paved the way for the massacre of the Shatila and Sabra camps, whose planning had been carried out jointly by Israel and Bashir al-Jumayyil before his death. That was exploited to have the American and Atlantic [Pact] troops return with an assignment for a longer period, in the hopes that they would stay on at length in order to realize Lebanese, Arab and international objectives.

This subject, which a special chapter of the second section of the draft report deals with, assumes particular importance. It deals with the way the aggression managed to realize all its objectives during that period and how American imperialism, Israel, Arab reaction and domestic reaction all combined achieved an overwhelming victory, which created a radical disturbance in the relationship of forces domestically and in the Arab context and imparted its negative effect on the domestic situation as well.

### Section Three: The Resistance to the Occupation and Its Major Significant Objectives

Initially, the third section of the draft report sets forth the historic importance of the establishment of the Lebanese national front of resistance

to the occupation and its heroic operations. This resistance recorded a historic new stage in the life of Lebanon, its people and national movement, and indeed in the development of the Arab national liberation movement and its struggle in general.

While emphasizing that the liberation struggle has become the major, crucial mission relative to the other remaining missions that are interconnected with it, the party from the first moment considered that armed resistance to the occupation, without disregard for all other struggles, would constitute the basic pillar of the comprehensive confrontation.

The basic role the party played in establishing and launching the Lebanese National Resistance Front has embodied the vanguard role of the working class and the revolutionary nature of its leadership.

This is not to disparage the other forces' role in the growth of the front's operation and expansion of the scope of resistance so that it became a movement of all the people and imposed consecutive Israeli withdrawals.

#### The First Strikes against the Occupying Force and Their Importance

The first strikes the resistance front carried out were imbued with great importance on the military and political levels, especially in hitting out at the occupation army's morale and raising that of the nationalist masses, whose situation had been suffering from a form of regression, especially since these first strikes were directed against the basic force in the hostile camp.

The liberation of Beirut represented a basic triumph of the National Resistance Front. The heroic operations in the course of it played an important part in accelerating the withdrawal and consequently in initiating the Lebanese national resurgence. Successive people's uprisings also played an important part in this upsurge, especially in their interconnection and interlinkage with the operations of the heroes of the resistance and their formation of a shelter and protection for the heroes.

The political struggle against the resistance, in its various forms and degrees, played an important role in addition to that. The position the party took of preferring the notion of struggle against the occupation to the other notions and its call for the unity of all forces hostile to the Israeli occupation regardless of their positions on other matters was of help in this. This political action helped create circumstances auxiliary to the military action.

It was necessary that the party seek recourse to provoking and exploiting all the forms of the contradictions in the enemy's camp in a manner that would serve the struggle against the occupation. The domestic element played the major role in confronting the enemy, and the national element made its important contribution in this sphere.

The party was also careful to direct itself toward the Christian masses and the forces present in the Christian environment which at the beginning had

wagered on the occupation and whose hopes and interests then began to clash with its platform. The economic and social factor also played its part in underlining the Israeli goals in this area and the role of the occupation forces in striking out at the assets of the Lebanese economy, plundering its institutions and inflicting harm on the most extensive social groups in the city and rural areas alike.

In dealing with the factional consequences of the occupation, it was natural that we should witness the upsurge of factional and doctrinal elements. While these elements subsequently turned, and today are becoming more and more converted, into pursuit of a negative game, even in confronting the occupation, at that time, in the circumstances of that stage, they played a positive role whose importance one must not belittle.

#### 17 May and the Struggle against the Goals of the Occupation

After pausing to consider the notion of liberation and the growth of the resistance to the occupation, the draft report deals with the course of the struggle against the goals of the occupation, which acquired concrete form in the 17 May agreement. The draft report reveals the Arab and international dimension of this agreement then pauses to consider its Lebanese aspects and the serious objectives at which it was aimed, which were to liquidate Lebanon's Arab identity and eliminate the essence of Lebanon's national independence by sanctifying its subordination to the Zionist entity and American imperialism and objectively eliminating the unity of the Lebanese entity by nourishing the plan of fragmentation and racist factional division and striking out at the components of democracy in Lebanon -- political democracy and democracy which regulated relations among factions and constituted a framework for the general democratic struggle and the struggle over socio-economic issues and means for confronting them.

The struggle against the 17 May agreement assumed major importance and constituted a framework and focus around which all the basic combative missions could rally during this stage. The broadest forces hostile to the Israeli occupation, American dominance and factional hegemony concurred over bringing it down, and various resources were employed to this end. The growth of the Lebanese National Resistance Front constituted the basic tributary which came together with the other tributaries of national resistance in the form of mass uprisings against the occupation and extensive political action and military struggles against factional hegemony in the war of the mountain, the battle of the suburbs and the Beirut uprising, with the result that all of these resulted in thwarting the agreement.

#### Interconnection between the Two Aspects of the National and Democratic Struggle

In another chapter of this section, the draft report moves on to discuss the subject of the interconnection between the struggle for liberation and the struggle to consolidate Lebanon's Arab identity, regain its unity and put the country on the road to democratic development, that is, the interconnection between the two aspects of the national and democratic struggle in the framework of the interconnection between the Israeli aggression and the plan for factional group Phalangist hegemony within the country.

## Against the American Occupation

The draft report, in the fourth chapter of this third section, then pauses before one of these issues, the one related to the struggle against the American occupation of Lebanon, which was brought about under the cover of the multinational forces and took place in their name.

On this subject, the draft report asserts that we had to disclose the game of drawing distinctions between the American and Israeli roles, confront the plan which some bourgeois circles had drawn up on this basis and dispel some other circles' illusions regarding the possibility that the Israeli occupation would be replaced by the American presence.

Proceeding from the party's correct appraisal of the danger of the American military presence and its inevitable evolution into a situation more dangerous than that of the Israeli occupation, the party worked to prepare for military struggle against the American forces and was the element which took the initiative in launching military operations aimed at driving out the American occupation forces.

The process of driving the Americans out of Lebanon is imbued with great importance in the Lebanese, Arab and international spheres as, with all the significance it contained on these three levels, it constituted the decisive turning point in thwarting the 17 May agreement, and inflicted the most serious defeat on the United States since its defeat in Vietnam.

## The National Salvation Front

The draft report, in the fifth chapter of this section, deals with the importance of the establishment of the National Salvation Front in consummating the struggle against the goals of the aggression, in particular the 17 May agreement and the Phalangist dominance of the country.

## The Role of the Relationship with Syria

The sixth chapter concentrates on the subject of the role of the alliance with Syria in consummating the struggle against the occupation and its objectives. It presents an objective evaluation of the Syrian role in Lebanon during its various phases, referring to its at times negative aspects and concentrating on its positive importance, especially its role in providing a firm base for the struggle against the Israeli occupation and the goals of this occupation and against American dominance, in supporting the Lebanese national resistance and the overall struggle against the occupation, in rallying the Lebanese national forces against the 17 May agreement and in supporting the Lebanese nationalists' struggle in Mount Lebanon against the plan for fascist factional domination of the Phalange Party and the Lebanese forces.

The draft report ties the Syrian perseverance to the strengthening of the Syrian-Soviet alliance and its effect in meeting the requirements for persevering in the face of the aggression and its objectives. It then arrives at the conclusion that on the basis of this development the Syrian factor came



to play the basic role in the struggle of perseverance and confrontation underway on the Lebanese stage, which is aimed at eliminating and preventing realization of the results of the aggression. It has become necessary that the platform of differing with the Syrian position fall into abeyance, so that the platform of alliance, integration and coordination with it may progress and maximum benefit may be drawn from this role and from the Syrian-Soviet support on which it is relying.

#### The Most Dangerous Development in the Arab Situation: Right-Wing Deviation in the Liberation Organization's Official Leadership

In this section, the draft report devoted a special chapter in which it dealt with a discussion and analysis of the positive and negative aspects of the Arab situation in the period following the aggression. In this regard, it stresses that the most dangerous transformation the Arab situation has witnessed in this period has been the disruption in the stand of the official leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The struggle within the Liberation Organization between two tendencies, one nationalist and the other right-wing, became aggravated as soon as it left Lebanon. The right-wing tendency could not resolve the matter at once in its favor, in view of the position of the national and revolutionary forces within the Palestinian revolution and their continued ability to exercise their role. This situation was embodied in the settlement to which the 16th National Council session in Algiers led, where the right-wing was prevented from coming up with official resolutions permitting promotion of the platform of deviation and the unity of the Liberation Organization was preserved, under the leadership of the right.

However, the right-wing leadership left this session to start preparing to proceed along the road of deviation and a split with the resolutions of the National Councils, including the Algiers session, in the shadow of the intensifying American-Israeli-Arab reactionary pressure. This leadership built its position on a basis of erroneous calculations. It considered that the disruption in the balance of power the aggression had created had become decisive and final, that there was no turning back from it, and that it had to find a foothold in the American plan "to solve the Middle East crisis," the Reagan plan.

This platform became manifest in its position on the 17 May agreement, as it implicitly supported it, reckoned that it would succeed, and prepared its steps on this basis.

That all led to the beginning of the outbreak of intra-Palestinian fighting in various forms, including the armed struggle first of all within the FATAH movement then later among the various organizations.

#### From Tripoli to the Cairo Visit

On this subject, the draft report addressed itself to the events of Tripoli, Lebanon and the Palestinian right wing's role in encouraging enmity to Communism as part of this option, which was aimed at estrangement from the

Lebanese national forces, Arab progressive forces and the socialist camp and forces hostile to imperialism internationally, in the hope that the right-wing leadership would be accepted into the American-reactionary settlement.

With this development, the Liberation Organization turned into a negative factor in the struggle in the Lebanese arena. 'Arafat's visit to Cairo took place to affirm that the platform of deviation was a new strategic option which became fulfilled in the serious following steps, from the secessionist national council in Amman to the conclusion of the Amman agreement and the Cairo declaration.

#### The Palestinian National Forces Are Participating in Our People's Struggles

The draft report pauses before the Palestinian opposition forces' challenge to this right-wing platform, in varying degrees of decisiveness and in varying forms of effectiveness. On this subject, the draft report observes that the major breach in the movement of these opposition forces lay in their inability to combine their forces and efforts in a single front.

The establishment of the Palestinian National Salvation Front constituted an important step in confronting the platform of right-wing deviation, but that alone, by itself, did not and does not constitute an adequate barrier to this platform, since all the forces hostile to the platform of deviation must be united on the base of a combative program which will bring the PLO out of its crisis, restore it to its vanguard combative position and guarantee it reliable revolutionary national leadership.

While the draft report reveals the role of right-wing deviation in negatively influencing the national struggle in Lebanon, it at the same time offers a high positive evaluation of the national Palestinian forces' participation in all the struggles the Lebanese national forces have waged against the Israeli occupation and its agents domestically.

#### The Importance of the Thwarting of the 17 May Agreement and Expelling the Americans

In the eighth and final chapter of this section, the party once again stresses the importance of the thwarting of the 17 May agreement, which constitutes a summation of the course of struggle during this historic stage.

The growth of the Lebanese national resistance and the expansion and development of its struggle constitute the basic factor in the unleashing and consolidation of the national resurgence process.

The war of the mountain constituted a decisive element in the national resurgence against fascist dominance and consequently against the Israeli occupation and American dominance. It also constituted a decisive element in moving this resurgence toward victory.

#### 6 February: The Basic Shift after the Battle of the Mountain

In the context of these newly-created circumstances, which are distinguished by the escalation of the national resurgence, the party started to sense



that the state of decisive struggles which were striking at factional hegemony and the American and Israeli presence was ripening. On that basis, it started to present the issue of the uprising in Beirut and to prepare for it. A group of circumstances contributed, most prominent of which were the positions of the right-wing leaders and ways the struggle had been waged in the failure of the first Beirut uprising. However, the main trend in the evolution of the ripening state of developments of this sort at that time continued in the same direction. That was clearly reaffirmed in the success of the 5 February uprising in Beirut, which was closely linked to the struggle of the suburbs. The 6 February uprising led to liberation of the capital from dominance by Amin al-Jumayyil's rule, the ultimate fragmentation of the army and the strengthening of the alliance of the national forces, one form of which was expressed by the alliance of the Progressive Party and AMAL as an embodiment of their alliance in the National Salvation Front.

Thus the 6 February uprising constituted the second basic shift, following the battle of the mountain, in the course of the Lebanese national struggle against the occupation and the domestic plan.

The expulsion of the Americans from Beirut was a great victory in the Lebanese, Arab and international contexts and it was a direct result of the war of the mountain and the Beirut uprising. This process of struggle was crowned by the thwarting of the 17 May agreement, which in turn constituted a historic victory for the Lebanese people and the Arab national liberation movement and also for all the forces hostile to imperialism in the international context.

The new relationship of forces began to impose itself in accordance with this victory. This was what the holding of the Geneva and Lausanne conferences and the resolutions adopted in them reflected, in spite of the manifestation of struggle during and after them in their various forms, especially as far as the domestic issues, which once again were brought up in the forefront of issues, were concerned.

#### Section Four: Toward the Triumph of the National Democratic Revolution

The special importance of the fourth section of the report is manifested in its treatment of the current situation in the country and possibilities as far as the subsequent development of events goes. It depicts the missions facing the party, the people's movement and nationalist and progressive forces. While the title of the section is "Toward the Triumph of the National Democratic Revolution," the section as a whole discusses the course of the revolutionary process in the country in the light of the Israeli aggression and the shadow of the civil war, which this aggression has resulted in rekindling.

Of course, this subject will provoke extensive discussion in the ranks of the party. It is the subject which is provoking the broadest discussion in the framework of the country as a whole, and all the political forces and parties concerned with what is going on in the country in the Arab and international contexts participate in it.

In reality, the Lebanese situation today is extremely complicated, not just because there does not at the present time seem to be scope for the country

to emerge from its crisis on the basis of any possible solution but because the fate of the whole country, in terms of identity, independence and unity, is being tabled for discussion and dozens of questions are being raised which reflect legitimate preoccupations among the most extensive segments of the people and the broadest national and progressive forces in the country concerning the epidemic that is occurring in the phenomenon of national, factional and sectarian fragmentation and the dominance of the factional and sectarian character of the struggle at the expense of the nationwide and national democratic content. The perverse anti-democratic practices which are taking place in the nationalist area are feeding these preoccupations as are the sectarian struggles, the war of the camps and its repercussions. There is no doubt that anxiety over the future today encompasses all the political circles and circles of the people in Lebanon, indeed all the members of the Lebanese people.

Therefore the questions which present themselves to us as we strive to deal with the current situation in the country and the scope of its development are numerous and legitimate. These are examples of these questions which are severe in their formulation:

What are the fate and the scope of the struggle for liberation?

How will the requirements of national and social perseverance in the south be met?

What is the fate of the watchword "The land to the people who liberate it?" What is the relationship between the Lebanese national resistance against the Israeli occupation and the national struggle on the one hand and the resistance and the civil war on the other? What is the essence of this civil war? Where do the essential points among its goals lie and where are the nihilistic aspects? What is the proper, scientific assessment of the victories which have been realized in the area of fighting the Israeli enemy, expelling the American and Atlantic [Pact] occupation forces and eliminating the 17 May agreement, the mountain war of liberation and the national uprising of the suburbs and Beirut? Why have the factional and doctrinal aspects of the struggle become more prominent than before, to the point where they have become, today, almost dominant? Is all this inevitable?

What role have factional and doctrinal considerations played in the struggle against the occupation forces and their fascist agents? Did the party have to encourage this phenomenon, or did it have to be permissive about it? Were the factional or doctrinal plans similar in their essence, goals and position in the struggle? What is the [proper] position in their regard? What is the country's fate in the context of the rampant factional and doctrinal strife? Are we headed toward the sanctification of partition?

Will partition occur through the establishment of a "Christian" state in part of the country and an "Islamic" state in the other part? Or will there be a Christian state on one side and principalities and cantons commensurate with the number of Islamic factions on the other? Will the entity of Lebanon remain, within its present boundaries, or will parts of it be torn off in the event it is partitioned? How will these cantons survive? Will they be

united in the form of a confederation or will they continue to fight amongst themselves for a long period? Will the Lebanese bourgeoisie be able to reimpose its united dominance over the country? Will it be possible to renovate the current factional formula on a different more balanced basis which is more heedful of the development which has occurred in the weight, number and role of each faction? In this regard, what is the fate of the tripartite agreement? Might it constitute, as it is or in amended form, a solution to the crisis? Is it possible to rejuvenate the factional equation on other bases in which the Shiites, for example, will take the place of the Sunnites in participation with the Maronites, and the role of the Druzes, the Orthodox, the Catholics and the Armenians will be attenuated? Might the prolongation of the present struggle lead to the replacement of a specific factional hegemony by another one? Will this alternative factional hegemony be "Islamic" in general or basically "Shiite?" Will this destructive state of fragmentation and the nihilistic aspects of the civil war continue without end? Where are this economic collapse and its social implications headed? Who do they serve? Can they be stopped? Can one benefit from them to deepen the socioeconomic struggle with its character of unifying the social groups possessing a mutual interest in change? What is the scope of the revolution in the social sphere, in light of the current fragmentation? How can one emerge from the economic crisis? To what extent have the objective circumstances for revolutionary change in the country ripened? Can one distinguish between the objective and subjective circumstances of revolution? Are we now faced with historic inevitability of revolutionary change in the country? Do forces for revolutionary change exist as social groups and political leadership? What is the level of these social groups' awareness of the requirements of change? What is their readiness to play their part in its framework? What are its capabilities for doing so? What, moreover, is the requisite revolutionary change? What do we mean by "national democratic revolution?" When did this "revolution" begin and what the stages does it consist of? Which of its stages are we in now? What is its relationship to the Lebanese civil war? Will it be realized through this war and by means of it and adopt a new course for it within its framework, or is it independent of it, if only in part? What combative program is it which can bring about the process of revolutionary change? What forms of struggle have been attained? What are the alliances which will be able to lead the process of change? Where do the working class and its party stand on this process?

This flood of questions which deal with domestic conditions is accompanied by another group of questions which are of no less importance dealing with foreign conditions, from those related to everyday political positions influencing the struggle in Lebanon to more radical seminal issues.

Is it possible to separate the crisis of Lebanon from the Middle East crisis? How so? What is the true nature of the weight of the Israeli element in the struggle today and in the future? What is the effect of the struggle going on in the region on the situation in Lebanon and on the form of the development of events within it? What role does the Palestinian element in this struggle occupy? Why the war of the camps, and where is it headed? Will the Palestine Liberation Organization return to Lebanon in the form it took before 1982? What will be the effect of that on the struggle with Israel, on domestic relations and on Arab relations in general and Syrian ones in

particular? What is the true nature of the current Syrian role in Lebanon? Does Syria actually want to help Lebanon emerge from its crisis? Can it indeed play that role? What are the requirements of that? Where do the limits of the role of the Lebanese national element and the limits of the role of the national element which Syria represents lie? Will the regional forces as a whole allow revolutionary change in Lebanon? In the context of what regional circumstances could such a change occur?

Last but not least, to what extent is the current international situation favorable for the resolution of the Lebanese crisis? What are the considerations of the American and West European role at the present time? Where do this local struggle and the regional one stand with respect to the comprehensive international struggle our age is witnessing? What is the role of the socialist camp and its vanguard, the Soviet Union? And so on and so forth.

The central committee's report to the party's fifth conference must deal with these questions and many besides them, and answer them. We in the conference's preparatory committee and in the political bureau have found ourselves faced with two methods of treatment.

The first method requires that each question (or cognate group of questions) must be dealt with in tangible ways, and then one must move on to the final question or group of questions. The second method is to attempt to deal comprehensively with the situation in a manner offering direct answers to a number of questions and indirect answers to other questions while nonetheless offering overall comprehensive answers to the current situation and to sketch out the probable developments of the struggle and the main directions of the course of events and basic options as far as the working class and its revolutionary party, and therefore the combative missions this party sketches out, are concerned.

The central committee's draft report has adopted the latter method, but does not rule out (and indeed must encourage) debate within the party and the national context, taking stock of the need for a scientific explanation of the greatest possible precision for all the issues which have been raised. It will devolve upon the central committee, which will lead the process of debate preparing for the conference, to note that the final formulation of its report must, in form and substance, be couched in the optimum way, one which will help the objective and scientific evaluation of the evolution of the struggle and the outlining of the tasks and programs of the struggle in a clear, well-understood manner.

What are the basic pivotal points before which the draft central committee report pauses in its fourth section, in an attempt to understand the current stage, the nature of the struggle in it and its characteristics, spelling out the various combative tasks included under the rubric "Toward the triumph of the national democratic revolution?"

These pivotal points, which the introduction tried to present in a concentrated form, while their detailed treatment would come in the subsequent chapters, regardless of the form in which they are cited in the draft, could be listed under the following main headings:

First, the Israeli Aggression and Lebanese National Resistance to the Occupation

This section of the report once again addresses itself to the role of the Israeli aggression in influencing the course of the struggle in the country. In the first place, it asserts the importance of the resistance which arose in the face of this occupation, from its most important feature, embodied in the Lebanese National Resistance Front, to all forms of the struggle, the mass, political and democratic forms, against the occupation, its programs and its plans. The main central deduction in this context is that the Israeli occupation on the one hand and the successful struggle against it on the other deepened the regime's Lebanese political-economic-social predicament to the maximum extent, to a degree where it became impossible for the dominant groups of the bourgeoisie to bring any solution out of this predicament which would restore their dominance of the country.

The Israeli aggression constituted the optimum option for these dominant groups of the Lebanese bourgeoisie, which shifted from the fascist option to the option of open national treason to preserve their privileges and reimpose their faction-oriented class dominance on the country.

This was the most it could do. It brought in Israel, and America, supported by the Arab reactionary conspiracy, to liquidate the Palestinian revolution, expel the Syrian presence, eliminate the Lebanese national movement and strike out at all manifestations of the mass resurgence opposing its dominance. It pushed its internal resources to the maximum, reached the position of the presidency under the bayonets of the occupation and tried to apply a "program" to solve the Lebanese crisis. However, it did not succeed! A heroic Lebanese national resistance rose up in the face of the occupation which was directed against the main stronghold of the forces of the counter-alliance (the Israeli forces), burdening them materially and morally, draining them, demonstrating the infeasibility of relying on the occupation and its forces because it was impermanent and imposing successive setbacks on the occupation forces. It burdened it by standing up to the American and Atlantic [Pact] forces and succeeded in expelling them, at a time when the other party to the struggle, hostile to the Phalangist and fascist dominance domestically, was advancing with great success.

The Dominant Group of the Bourgeoisie Has Lost the Objective Conditions for Regaining Its Class Dominance

For its part, the escalation of the struggle to this level, together with the use by the dominant group of the bourgeoisie of all its weapons, including the most serious of them, self-reinforcement through the medium of Israel, and its inability, in spite of all that, to succeed, have deprived it of national legitimacy, that is, the objective conditions for regaining its class dominance of the country.

The Working Class, Through Its Party, Unleashed the Resistance and Laid the Foundation for Establishment of a Revolutionary Alternative

To this central notion, the report adds another one which supplements the same deduction: in confronting the treason of this segment of the



bourgeoisie, the working class has assumed its historic role, through its vanguard party, by unleashing the national resistance to the occupation and participating in the domestic challenge to fascist dominance. Because of the growth of this role of the working class and its party, the broadest national front emerged in the country in confrontation with the occupation and the issues it brought directly to the fore, embodied in the plan for fascist Phalangist dominance. The foundation was laid for this not just to bring down this dominant group of the bourgeoisie because of its national treason, responsibility for the continuation of the civil war and stymying of every national solution to the crisis -- rather, the foundation was laid, at the same time, to provide the objective conditions for promoting the struggle toward the establishment of a revolutionary alternative which could bring the country out of its crisis on national democratic foundations.

That does not mean that causing this alternative to triumph is a simple process which occurs free of difficulties, free of attempts to outflank it and press it in the direction of collapse and even failure; rather, none of the difficulties which will appear in the course of the struggle, to which we will address ourselves subsequently, rule out the historic fact concerning the collapse of the financial gang's regime, as a result of its fascist option, because of its treason as a result of its self-reinforcement by Israel and under the influence of the upsurge of the working class and its allies to assume their historic role in the struggle for the sake of revolutionary change.

#### From Resistance to Liberation

The third supplementary notion which will become clearer in the light of our treatment of aspects related to the development of the civil war is that which states that the resistance's realization of the stage of imposing the Israeli withdrawal from Beirut and Mount Lebanon, the success of the mountain war of liberation, the uprising of Beirut and the suburbs, the abrogation of the 17 May agreement, the expulsion of the Marines and other quantitative and qualitative achievements of which we have spoken and of which we will return to speak have prompted us to propound, with greater force, the watchword "from resistance to liberation," with the clear, profound link between the task of liberating the land from the Israeli occupation and Phalangist dominance and the process of change in the nature of authority which this watchword entails. This watchword was propounded in confrontation with the platform of "negotiations" to bring about the Israeli withdrawal (the al-Naqurah negotiations) and was accompanied by the watchword "the land to the people who liberate it," in confrontation with the slogan of replacing the Israeli occupation with the factionalist, sectarian Lebanese army, commanded by and subordinate to the order of the Phalangist authorities.

#### Factional Dominance of the Liberated Areas

Regardless of the factional dominance the south is going through today, the two watchwords of "liberation" and "the land to the people who liberate it" remain correct and constitute a basic combative mission. Indeed, what is going on in the south today absolutely affirms their validity. This is because the struggle of liberation has not yet ended. Experience has affirmed

how difficult this struggle is, how radical its nature is and how it is connected to the Lebanese domestic situation and the struggle over the fate of the political-economic-social system, in addition to its connection to the national struggle the region is witnessing -- which, in turn, constitutes part of the comprehensive struggle for existence in our era.

Every day, it is being reaffirmed more and more that the platform of the forces which dominated the terrain after the Israeli withdrawal is not one which can prosecute the struggle for liberation and fulfill its duties. In the face of the difficulties arising from the struggle of liberation and the revelation of illusions concerning the chances of an easy Israeli withdrawal and illusions of rushing after the mirage of "security arrangements," and in the face of the burdens of the economic, social and security situation in the south -- in the face of all that, factional dominance becomes a barrier to the liberation struggle and a contradiction to the interests and aspirations of the people of the south in particular and the Lebanese in general in achieving liberation and meeting the commitments of the perseverance of the masses in the areas which are directly facing the occupation.

#### Prosecuting the Struggle Requires an Alternative to the Dominant Platform Founded on a National Democratic Front

Once again it is being confirmed, through everyday practice and experience, that prosecuting the struggle in a successful manner requires an alternative to the current dominant platform and an alternative to the current state of affairs, one founded on the establishment of a real national front on democratic bases among all the forces concerned with pursuing the struggle of liberation and constituting the instrument of "national sovereignty" over the liberated territory and the base of the struggle aimed at liberating the remaining occupied territory without conditions or restrictions. The struggle under the watchwords of "liberation" and "the land to the people who liberate it" is therefore still the major one, although some of its forms and orientations have changed, and the role of the Lebanese national resistance to the occupation will continue to be a fundamental one. Indeed, it will further expand, in the struggle of liberation, its unifying character will become more prominent, and its function of changing the domestic situation in the country will grow deeper. Regardless of the difficulties of the resistance and the obstacles which stand in its way, it will continue its historic mission decisively, unhesitatingly, without quarter until the end. There is no doubt that a basic portion of these difficulties is attributable to the vicious counterattack the enemy is launching while another basic portion of them is attributable to the dispute in being concerning the question of liberation and the forms of the struggle aimed at carrying it out among the forces which are concerned with this issue, which have jointly challenged the Israeli occupation and the factional Phalangist dominance.

#### Two Opposing Platforms within the National Forces

The draft central committee report presents two contradictory platforms within the national forces and defines their points of congruence and contradiction vis-a-vis the issues as a whole and the issue of liberation in particular.



Second: The Affinity between the Civil War and the Israeli Aggression and the Struggle against It

The "Lebanese" goals of the Israeli aggression and "Lebanese" participation in the Israeli aggression arose in order that the Lebanese civil war could resume in one of its new stages.

While the first stage of this civil war, in one of its forms, came to an end at the end of 1976, with the entry of the Arab deterrent forces, although no solution to it was found, the armed struggles the Lebanese theater witnessed in various forms in the stage between 1978 and 1982, which the Arab deterrent forces entered at times and the Palestinian forces entered at other times as major parties, which under specific circumstances the Lebanese political forces, among them the national forces at times, and these forces all combined with the Phalangist forces, also entered, and which were permeated by domestic liquidations at various periods -- these civil war struggles constituted a specific form of the continuation of this war which differed from the previous period.

In other words, the civil war during that stage did not continue in an open, comprehensive, explosive manner throughout the whole country, the door was not closed to the political solution to the crisis, if only in theory, and these armed struggles did not prevail over the political one, although they constituted one of the factors in the dominance of a given political position.

However, the Israeli aggression in 1982 then opened a new stage of civil war, and the continuation of this war under the circumstances of the aggression and occupation, under the influence of the entry of the "Lebanese forces" and the Phalange forces as a party and an army into it, assumed a new character, by which the civil war became a complementary part of the struggle over the Israeli aggression and its ramifications, indeed its most prominent feature, and the significance of the advent to the presidency by Bashir al-Jumayyil, then Amin al-Jumayyil, the plan they brought, the 17 May agreement and the attempts to impose it by force, as well as the entry of the Lebanese forces into the mountain with Israeli tanks, their criminal fascist acts against Communists, nationalists and socialist progressives of all factions and against all the members of the Druze faction and the original inhabitants of the mountain, and the repressive dominance which was used, in the context of Israeli bayonets, to impose the hegemony of the Phalangist plan, all constituted a new incitement to civil war on the part of the forces linked with the American-Zionist-reactionary-secessionist scheme.

The national and progressive forces entered into this war from a defensive position and their entry constituted the second element of the Lebanese national resistance to the occupation. From this situation the struggle developed, with the upsurge and victories of the resistance, and in turn, through its development and its victories, it resulted in moving the national resistance forward with great strides in the presence of extremely important accomplishments.

The national forces' recourse to arms in confronting the arms of the Phalange, the "Lebanese forces" and the army of the Phalangist authorities, as a supplement to the national forces' recourse to arms in fighting the Israeli occupation, gave the Lebanese civil war its national liberation character, gave it its national dimension and deepened its democratic substance. It is not at all true, and is absolutely unthinkable, on the basis of the flaws and mistakes which have come along with the civil war and the dangers the country witnessed which are caused by the current turn in developments, especially in its factional features -- it is not true or thinkable that this basic aspect of the civil war should be obliterated or cancelled out.

#### Reactionary Deception with Respect to the "Unity of Lebanon"

The national forces' ability to respond with revolutionary violence to the violence of the agents of occupation is a revolutionary process of great importance for the history of the struggle in our country. Had the Lebanese national forces not been able to realize this, the civil war would have remained one-sided and this party would have won at the beginning of the war and imposed its fascist plan on the country in full. When the national and progressive forces decided, in alliance with Syria, to enter into the civil war, they realized in advance that the unity of the country would be exposed to danger and clearly saw the danger in having the factional aspect dominate the struggle at one of its stages (which is something we will return to discuss).

The deception which was advanced concerning the "unity of Lebanon" was reactionary and its aim was to thwart the Lebanese national forces' confrontation of the occupation, the 17 May agreement and the plan of Phalangist dominance. The price for the "unity of Lebanon" and its "independence" would have been the Arabhood of Lebanon and the democracy of Lebanon. The "unity of Lebanon," as it was hoped the national forces would accept it, was a pro forma unity governed by Phalangist dominance, a compulsory unity imposed on the factions, areas, parties and social groups hostile to fascism and governed by total subservience to the Zionist entity, under American tutelage. Under such circumstances, it would lose its meaning and would lose its significance, and, in form and substance, would cease to be a framework for the unity of a country like Lebanon which civil war and Israeli occupation had fragmented.

That is a basic aspect of the substance of the civil war and the essence of the struggle underway in the country. It is the substance which made the Lebanese national resistance against the occupation a part of the civil war, and it requires that we view the flaws which accompanied this war and seemed to have dominated it and controlled its course objectively and that these flaws be put in their proper perspective, without exaggeration.

In reality, nihilistic manifestations, wrongful practices and excesses are occurring in conjunction with the civil war, as serious tendencies to make the factional bias prevail in the struggle and the search for a solution have occurred in conjunction with it. However, these negative manifestations, in their various forms, do not constitute the major characteristic of the civil war.

The major characteristic of the civil war is that it is an arena of struggle, in all its forms, between the forces fighting on behalf of liberation and change and the forces which are holding onto the ancien regime and, in doing so, rely on the forces hostile to the unity, independence, Arabhood and democratic development of Lebanon -- Israel, its Arab reactionary allies and its imperialist masters.

### Third: The Civil War and the Factional Question

Why has the struggle against the occupation assumed factional appearances? Why did the civil war assume factional forms at the beginning and why have these forms today come to prevail over the others and brought forth doctrinal struggles whose danger is becoming intensified and aggravated?

There are a group of objective and subjective causes for this and we will herewith cite the most important of these:

A. The Israeli aggression, in one of its elements, was a factional one. The "Lebanese" goals of the aggression, in one of its basic elements, were factional ones. It was the factional forces tied to the fascist Phalangist plan which summoned the Israeli forces and used the Israeli aggression and occupation to reach power and, through their position in power, work to present their fascist factional plan.

B. The "Lebanese" plan, which was dependent on the Israeli occupation, assumed the form of total factional dominance which, had it succeeded, would have had the effect of eliminating the traditional equation for bourgeois coexistence among factions in the direction of increasing the dominant nature of "political Maronism" at the expense of the Islamic and even non-Maronite Christian factions and oppressing them all in all forms and various areas.

C. The practices relied on by the fascist Phalange plan, which was dependent on the Israeli occupation, were factional ones of the greatest severity and viciousness. They had the objective of provoking factional feelings among the other factions and constituted the basis for provoking factional reactions and protest. It was hoped that they would be able to succeed in their oppression and annihilation in order to guarantee long, deep-rooted dominance for themselves and their political plan. Therefore, they provoked the masses of all the factions and sought to get the broadest of the Christian factional masses to participate in their crimes. They turned the Christian villages of the mountain into armed bases and artillery emplacement positions from which they could bombard the Druze villages, so that enmity would deepen between the masses of the factions and not between the conflicting political currents. In given villages and sections of some towns (the Hurayk section and some sections of Beirut) they incited the Christian minority to carry out provocative actions and the Phalangist presence (and the "Lebanese forces") were deployed in this environment in a provocative manner. They did all this with the goal of stirring up factional reactions and preparing for factional massacres and with the goal of factional dispossession and the creation of suitable circumstances for imposing their plan of fascist factional dominance on the country.

D. The Israeli occupation, with the armed Phalangist appearance in its shadow and the dominance of the Phalangist authorities' army in its framework, led to blows against the basic progressive forces, their persecution, and the imposition of organizational and mass retreat on them. Indeed, it forced them to rely on secret struggle. Their direct influence on the struggle weakened in general and conversely other forces which constituted part of the political regime or received specific factional protection faced a smaller share of repression and were endowed with greater mobility. The "faction" constituted shelter and protection for these factions and they resorted to factionalism to protect their national position and worked to seek the resurgence of the masses of the faction they belonged to in order to seek their resurgence and exploit their movement in the struggle against the base factional plan and the Israeli occupation at the same time.

Religious figures and places of worship were granted greater protection although some religious figures were subjected to persecution and assassination. This state of affairs led some leaders of movements of a doctrinal character to continue to circulate in the occupation areas under obvious armed protection while others from the same organizations and other national and progressive parties and forces, including our party, were subject to permanent persecution, thousands were crammed into detention centers and torture chambers and dozens fell as martyrs in mass and military resistance activities of all forms and types.

Combat Was Permitted among Factions but Nothing Else!

E. When America, and Israel, failed to draw the Islamic factions (masses and political representatives) into accepting the state of occupation and dealing with it and its results (the 17 May agreement), and they realized that the national resistance to the occupation was intensifying and expanding and that the challenge to domestic fascist dominance would also proceed in a military direction, they resorted to encouraging the factional nature of confrontation at the expense of national considerations. Fighting was permitted among factions because ultimately that was condemned to face a dilemma and would pave the way for a factional solution, while fighting by national and progressive forces from a domestic, national and democratic position was forbidden because it would lay the foundation for the democratic domestic resolution, with its national dimension.

F. Proceeding from this premise specifically, imperialist propaganda concentrated on twisting the Lebanese national resistance and determined on obliterating the resistance's domestic, national and progressive role. It went to excess in underlining the role of the religious forces and doctrinal considerations in the resistance, favored the doctrinal considerations within it, narrowed its scope and restricted it to the people of the south. That was not a form of appreciation on its part for Islam, Shiism or the people of the south, one of giving them the true role which devolved upon them in the resistance -- rather, to the contrary, it had the goal of deprecating them all and striking at the forces of the resistance by means of these various forces and consequently inhibiting their role.

Domestic circles participated in this evil mission, alongside imperialism and Israel, and some results of this mission were achieved. This campaign of

distortion received repercussions in the form of practices which led, and are leading, to the fragmentation of the resistance, the weakening of its effectiveness and the weakening of the elements of resistance among the citizens in the occupation areas at the same time.

#### Expulsion of the Palestine Liberation Organization Was the Most Prominent Factional Aspect of the Struggle

G. The expulsion of the Palestine Liberation Organization from Lebanon played a negative role in weakening the domestic and national aspect of the struggle and highlighting the factional aspect. The Palestinian revolution was a unifying factor for the country, on a national not factional basis, and a unifying factor for the broad national ranks with all their components. While its presence, and the struggle over it, raised some factional considerations, it gave the struggle a political character in the first place. The attempts to ignore the Palestinian role in the struggle and prevent it from standing out following the invasion helped diminish the national considerations in favor of the factional ones and highlight the doctrinal struggle. The emergence of the platform of deviation in the Palestine Liberation Organization command played a big role in this, since it was that destructive platform that weakened the role of the Palestinian element in the national struggle which, on the Lebanese stage, was linked to the name of the tripartite alliance -- the alliance of the Lebanese national movement, the Palestinian revolution and Syria. The right-wing platform led to the partitioning of the PLO and the group rejecting the platform of deviation within the Palestinian revolution replaced the Liberation Organization as an instrument unifying all the Palestinian forces and detachments in the former equation. For objective and subjective reasons, the group was not able to receive the share that was attributable to the Palestinian revolution in this equation and it was not provided with the necessary resources for that.

Moreover, the practices of the Palestinian right-wing, in Tripoli in the past and in Beirut, Sidon and the south today, strengthened the doctrinal character of the struggle. Rather than having all efforts exerted in strengthening the combative unity between the two peoples and their national forces in resisting the Israeli occupation, all resources were mobilized by the right-wing leadership in the Liberation Organization to provoke struggle, in all its forms, between the Lebanese and Palestinian national forces. This policy concurred with that of the doctrinal forces which viewed the Palestinian political presence, especially the armed presence, in Lebanon as an element in conflict with the struggle toward liberation. This position was governed by illusions which the occupying forces had planted and nourished concerning the possibility that it might withdraw from the south in exchange for action to eliminate the elements whose presence constituted a threat to Israel's security. Foremost among these were the Palestinians as a people and the Palestinians as a politically and militarily organized force, and also Lebanese national democratic forces participating in the resistance which held nationalist positions.

This conflict arose in various forms, at varying times, following the resistance's departure from Beirut, but it became intensified and assumed the



character of armed struggle after the victories the Lebanese national struggle realized against the occupation and its agents, especially after the thwarting of the 17 May agreement. This struggle exploded in the form of renewed fighting from time to time around the Beirut camps and the nourishment of the doctrinal aspects in the struggle on the Lebanese stage which accompanied this fighting.

#### Removing the Palestinian People from the Equation Is No Less Dangerous Than 'Arafat's Platform

H. The weakness of the Palestinian element in the equation and the wrongful way it was included in it was not restricted in its consequences to the Palestinians, but went beyond them to the Lebanese national movement and in particular the left-wing forces within this movement -- the forces whose alliance with the Palestinian revolution has constituted a basic focal point in the struggle during its entire stage. While we have constantly stressed our condemnation of Yasir 'Arafat's platform and his practices, not just in the framework of the Palestine cause as a whole but on the Lebanese stage in particular, we conversely stress the harm and error of these views which deny the Palestinian people and the forces of the Palestinian revolution their right to defend themselves, their duty of participating with the Lebanese national forces in the struggle of liberation, and their determination to follow through the struggle, including the armed struggle, to achieve the arrogation of the legitimate national rights of the people of Palestine within the conditions which the interests of the development of the revolutionary struggle in Lebanon under the leadership of the revolutionary movement within it impose. That is what we asserted in the joint statement with the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine in 1984 and it is what was contained in the working paper which the joint meeting of the Lebanese National Action Board and the Palestine Salvation Front approved concerning the bases for regulating the relations between the two national movements and fraternal peoples.

The platform of reverting to the negative aspects of conditions before 1982 is wrongful and harmful but removing the Palestinian people in the Lebanese camps and the Palestinian revolutionary forces in Lebanon from the equation, imposing factional hegemony on the camps and relying on the platform of provocation and incitement are no less harmful and wrongful than 'Arafat's platform, indeed are supplementary to it, in collusion with it and a justification for its practices.

#### We Refuse To Remain Prisoners of the Dilemma of Choosing between Two Bad Possibilities

The Palestinian revolution and its progressive forces have a role in Lebanon and this role must be organized on sound bases in a manner which will serve the Lebanese national democratic plan on the one hand and establish positive grounds for the development of the national struggle against the Zionist enemy around the Palestinian question on the other. We cannot remain prisoners of the dilemma of choosing between two bad possibilities, repressing the Palestinian camps and revolution in order to focus on a plan of factional group hegemony or scattering the Palestinians, which ultimately will result

in the return of the Palestinian right wing to dominance in the camps and the entire Lebanese national scene. A third option is necessary. A sound national domestic option is necessary. The Lebanese democratic national plan must give the Palestinian revolution the scope and the role attributable to it in Lebanon, in a manner which will permit regulation of the relationship between the Lebanese national forces and the Palestinian revolutionary forces on sound bases in the context of agreement over a unified strategy and homogeneous, integrated policies among forces, thus restoring the legacy of the combative national Lebanese-Palestinian-Syrian solidarity prior to the 1982 invasion, with all its positive aspects and none of its negative ones.

There is no doubt that the revolutionary Palestinian element's pursuit of its role on sound bases will guarantee circumstances which are more suited for a greater role on the part of the Lebanese revolutionary forces in the struggle and will constitute a great contribution to promotion of the national democratic plan.

#### The Role of the "Progressive" [Party] and AMAL

There is no doubt that the Progressive Socialist Party and the AMAL movement have played a fundamental role in the national confrontation and that great credit goes to them for inciting the uprising of broad masses on factional bases to fight against the occupation and Phalangist dominance; this is a positive, legitimate thing. Israel sought to win Shiite public opinion in general and southern Shiite public opinion in particular over to its side after it had entered Lebanon on the pretext of liquidating the Palestinian resistance -- whose presence in the south had imposed great burdens on its people which exceeded their endurance, the burdens of the national struggle, with all its weight, the burdens of excesses and aggressions, and the burdens of domestic struggles which spread after the aggression. Israel tried to win the Druze faction over to its side, by encouraging Phalangist provocations against the Druzes in the mountain, in one area, offering them protection in another area and using some Druze officers from Israel in broad contacts to complete this mission in the third area.

In addition to that, the fanatic adherents of reaction in the two factions tried to draw their masses into the position of participating domestically in the Phalangist scheme in all its dimensions. Kamil al-As'ad, for example, was an advocate of Bashir al-Jumayyil's election, then an advocate of Amin al-Jumayyil's election and an advocate of the 17 May agreement, even after its abrogation. The voices which were raised among Druze reactionaries to greet Bashir al-Jumayyil, accept his authority and seek his aid against the Progressive Socialist Party and its leader, Comrade Walid Jumblatt, were not few. Much credit goes to Comrade Walid Jumblatt and the Progressive Socialist Party for standing up to this platform with its two orientations, toward Israel and toward Phalangist domination, and the AMAL movement, under the leadership of our brother Nabih Birri, gets great credit for standing up to this platform also.

Our party has encouraged this orientation with all its resources and has duly appreciated the national and domestic substance this aspect of the factional uprising hostile to the occupation and Phalangist dominance contains.



While the party criticized factional practices in the course of the war of the mountain or the uprising in the suburbs, it did not assign a primary degree of importance to them. Crushing the occupation and crushing the scheme of Phalangist dominance are the essential points. Some factional reactions to factional provocations, crimes and massacres were given interpretations on our part, but we did not rise up to justify them in any way. Rather, we criticized them and warned of their dangers.

The party realized that this factional and doctrinal resurgence had its serious negative side and was a double-edged sword. Our awareness of subsequent negative considerations did not drive us to fail to see that the essential point at this stage was how to get all forces to rise up against the occupation and Phalangist dominance. We always strove to reduce the effect of the negative considerations by insisting on the need for all forces hostile to the occupation and Phalangist dominance to become organized within a broad national front on a non-factional basis and on the need to raise the banner of a non-factional national democratic plan which would be able to use the factional and doctrinal resurgence in its own service, rather than having the employment of the national struggle used in service of the factional and doctrinal resurgence.

The Struggle between the Platforms of the Factional Solution and the National Solution Is in Essence One of Class

The party has been the basic national force which sounded the warning bell to give word that the negative aspect of the doctrinal resurgence was becoming more and more prevalent as the struggle advanced and the civil war progressed. The party was the first to set out a national platform which would be distinct from the factional and doctrinal current, while that "distinction" would not turn into a clash, lest the major enemy benefit from this clash to consolidate his positions and eliminate all national forces without exception.

The party promoted this distinction more and more the more the national victories were consolidated and the adversary's positions were weakened. The party always stressed the need for all national and progressive forces, including the Progressive Socialist Party and the AMAL movement, to rally under the banner of the national plan and in the context of a national front which would be able to bring it about. The party considered that the failure to establish the front on sound democratic bases in a manner which would give the progressive parties their actual role and the substitution of a bilateral alliance for it, the alliance between the Progressive Socialist Party and the AMAL movement, would weaken the national democratic character of the confrontation and nourish the factional aspect of the struggle, that it would be established to deepen the doctrinal contradiction and that it would threaten having the alliance turn into a clash which could assume a destructive character.

The party has constantly emphasized that this tendency to impose this bilateral character was not in keeping with the goals its two sides believe in, presented their struggle with a dilemma and threatened to do away with the gains it had realized and the gains national action as a whole had realized.

The party has emphasized in particular that this tendency has in effect reduced the status of the Progressive Socialist Party and its head, Comrade Walid Jumblatt, making him just a representative of one of the smaller factions in place of the national role and status which are to be attributed to him and his party in the domestic and national spheres. Moreover, along with the AMAL movement, it has nourished factional and doctrinal tendencies and brought it into struggles with all sides, factions and political parties, destroying the interests of the masses of the Shiite faction themselves as well as destroying legitimate aspirations for liberation from historic repression which mobilize these masses to struggle to realize it, and also leading to the destruction of the whole national situation.

Any solution one could think of based on mere reliance on this bilateral situation will assume the character of a factional one, indeed a doctrinal one, fragmenting national ranks without unifying the country. Any military confrontation to be resumed on the basis of this bilateral situation will turn the military struggle into a factional one that is condemned to failure in advance.

The national plan, in either case, will come to a halt, vacillate, start to regress and come up against a dilemma, reflecting internal struggles adding to the forces' fragmentation, intensifying the dangers of partition and fragmentation in the national context and preparing for the return of fascist hegemony.

At the outset, this premise of ours met with direct repercussions and at some stage we were faced with the theory of "national factions" rather than national parties! However, our voice began to become more and more heard, the more the factional and doctrinal situation began proceeding toward its dilemma. The dilemma of the doctrinal-factional alternative stood out as did that of factional dominance, and the dilemma of a political solution founded on factional and doctrinal bases also stood out, as did that of a military solution proceeding from this basis.

The war of the camps, the incidents of Beirut and their perverse conditions occurred, increasing the severity of the dilemma.

The bold position Comrade Walid Jumblatt is expressing today, in the appeal to return to the national plan, underlines the severity of this dilemma.

Today the struggle is going on at its most intense level over the following question: Who will predominate within the national and progressive forces? Will predominance go to the continuation of the factional and doctrinal platform, and to the continuation of its destructive results, or will it go to the victory of the national democratic plan, with its national perspective?

The draft party central committee report spells out the issues around which this struggle is revolving in various areas, deals with all possibilities and draws up the tasks in the light of all of them.

While we will review this issue subsequently, here we must stress that the struggle between the platforms of a doctrinal solution and a national

solution is in essence a class struggle, indeed a form of the reflection of the class struggle over the basic issues of its destiny and development which the country is going through.

#### The Syrian Role and the Bilateral AMAL-Socialist Party Situation

J [sic]. What is the role of fraternal Syria and what are its responsibilities in all this? There is no doubt that Syria bears its share of responsibility which is as great as its role in the struggle. Although we are not pausing here to consider the important positive features of the Syrian position, which constitute the basis of the overall victories which have been realized in various contexts, and although we do not need to assert the importance of deepening the Lebanese-Syrian national alliance and its imperatives and the importance of Syria's role in helping to bring the country out of its crisis in a manner which will guarantee that the occupation forces are driven out of its territory in their entirety and that its unity and the guarantee of its Arabhood and situation on the road to democratic development are restored, we find it necessary to point out some observations, from the position of responsibility and solidarity, which if not adopted could lead to results which will harm the Syrian role in solving the Lebanese crisis and put difficulties in its way.

The parties which are thoroughly steeped in the doctrinal tendency are exploiting Syria's support of them, proceeding from the role these parties played against the occupation and against domestic reaction, to put this aid to use in strengthening their position on improper bases. Syria, in some aspects of the application of its policy in Lebanon, has helped to intensify the bilateral situation we are talking about, that between AMAL and the Socialist Party, at the expense of national action as a whole on some occasions.

This became apparent in the position regarding the struggle in military terms, became particularly apparent in the negotiations which led to the well-known tripartite agreement and is continuing in the ways of dealing with the current situation, which has arisen from the failure to apply the agreement as a consequence of the American-Israeli-Arab reactionary-Phalangist conspiracy. However, this responsibility does not exempt the Lebanese national forces, especially those circles which are most favored by Syria and most critical of it, from their role and responsibility.

It is not Syria which abrogated the National Salvation Front without creating an alternative to it. It is not Syria which prevented the "National Democratic Front" from playing its role in reviving national action and leading it. It is not Syria which caused the "National Federation Front" to fail after its first conference in Shaturah, and it is not the one which is causing the National Action Council to fail today.

Syria encouraged the establishment of all these contexts, especially the National Federation Front, although it did not make its relations with the Lebanese nationalists contingent on their position vis-a-vis this front. If it was the Syrian position which stood in the way of the unity of Lebanese progressive forces, why shouldn't there be a discussion with Syria and

pressure on it to change this position? Indeed, why do some Lebanese nationalist circles clash with Syria over many issues and not clash with it over the unity of the Lebanese nationalist and progressive forces and the national plan and its instruments?

While we have asserted our responsibility as Lebanese national forces in this regard, we are also trying to have Syria assume its national progressive role more actively and decisively in checking the phenomenon of the spread of the platform of fragmentation on the national stage and the platform of doctrinal and factional struggle and in favoring a national confrontation based on a national plan, through the national, non-factional contexts of a front.

H [sic]. Last but not least, the factional wave, the doctrinal resurgence and the religious current are not just a Lebanese phenomenon and it is not possible for them to be understood outside the framework of the surrounding regional situation, inasmuch as they are a consequence and sometimes a source of it. Here we are referring not just to Israel's role but also to the role of the Iranian revolution and the Iraqi-Iranian war and to the resurgence of the religious current in a broad number of Arab countries and in the world.

#### Fourth: The Nature of the Current Stage and Quality of the Change Desired

While the Israeli occupation of Lebanon has presented the national forces with a major task, the task of standing up to and resisting this occupation, bringing about comprehensive liberation, bringing down the Phalangist plan, of which it constitutes one of the main conspicuous points, and preventing it from imposing its dominance on the country, the victories which have been achieved in this area have faced the country with a new stage in which the destiny of the bourgeoisie's political-economic-social system founded on factionalism, that is, the issue of the democratic development of the country, the issue of revolutionary change, is insistently raised, alongside the completion of the task of liberation, restoration of the unity of the country and establishment of its Arab identity.

In defining the nature of the stage, the draft report refers back to the party's conferences, especially its program as approved at the second conference, where it considered that the task of the working class and its party was to wage and lead the national struggle to bring down the financial gang's regime and establish a "national democratic regime." The third conference spelled out the program of general democratic struggle in accordance with the struggle which the revolutionary process in the country, aimed at bringing down the financial band and establishing national democratic rule, was continuing in order to attain. This democratic program emerged as a basis for the democratic reform program of the political system which the Lebanese national movement approved in 1976.

However, the country's entry into the stage of civil war in the mid-seventies tied the fate of the struggle to bring down the regime of the financial gang to the fate of this war. The dominant circles of the bourgeoisie imposed violence as a means of conflict and relied on fascism as a means for

regaining and consolidating their dominance. The fate of their regime continued to be tied to that of the civil war they had touched off -- whether it continued, so that it would realize the goal of bringing down the regime, came to a halt in its military form, so that it would pave the way for the resumption of the democratic struggle to realize the same goal, or collapsed and failed, so that the forces of reaction could record a victory in it and strengthen their regime.

#### The Separatist Plan Complementing the Occupation and the Half-Way Solutions

The setback the Lebanese national forces went through during the civil war at the end of 1976 interrupted the course of the struggle to bring down the financial gang's regime and consolidated the position of the dominant forces of the bourgeoisie, without resolving the crisis of their regime. The different ways in which the civil war resumed from 1978 to 1982 expressed the deepening of the crisis of the regime and the inflammation of its contradictions, the radical nature of the separatist scheme and the impossibility of half-way solutions with it. However, the forces of the revolution continued to occupy a defensive position, fighting against the plan of fascist separatist dominance which relied on Zionism and imperialism without having their own independent national plan.

Neither the domestic nor the regional circumstances allowed them that. The party, at its fourth conference, defined its main task as lying in the struggle to thwart the fascist-Zionist-imperialist plan, and to that end approved the "program of comprehensive national confrontation of the imperialist-Zionist-separatist plan." Since the party clearly saw the possibility that comprehensive Israeli aggression might constitute an option open to the fanatics of Lebanese reaction, as well as being an imperialist Zionist and Arab reactionary plan, the party called for the organization of national resistance to the aggression and for a challenge to its objectives.

However, the party, at its fourth national conference, spelled out the historic steps through which the struggle would progress in realizing its historic goal, "bringing down the financial gang and establishing a national democratic regime which would pave the way for the transfer to socialism," referring to the interlinkage and interconnection between the minimum for this, the one which was closest at hand, "the program of comprehensive national confrontation of the imperialist-Zionist-separatist scheme," and the maximum, the one which was most remote, "the program of national democratic rule," passing through the "general program of democratic struggle" which found auxiliary support for itself in the "tentative program of democratic political reform."

The party, at its fourth conference, proceeding from its awareness of the radical quality and nature of the plan and the depth and inflammatory nature of the struggle, raised the possibility that the attainment of these programs, each one conforming to "a specific historic stage," would not come about step by step, over time, with a specific time period separating one from the other, and that since success in attainment of the minimum program would assume a point of departure for accelerating the struggle toward the more progressive program, it was moreover possible (indeed likely) that the



minimum program would not be realized and that conflict would erupt, become intensified and become radicalized, that a relationship among forces would be established which would impose a radical change on the situation, the program which was able to create a solution to the prevailing situation in the country would become the maximum program and the most minor sort of reform in the political system would then be out of the question unless the regime of the financial gang was brought down and a national democratic government established.

That is what we are actually talking about now. The Israeli aggression pushed the situation in the country to the farthest extent of radicalization in the struggle and the shift of the dominant forces of the bourgeoisie through fascism to direct national treason constituted a quantum leap of the utmost gravity. The separationist plan supplementing the occupation and achieved by the grace of it became more radical and more intractable to half-way solutions. The dominant circles of the bourgeoisie pushed the situation in the country to the point where it was necessary to decide between one tendency or another, everything or nothing!

In facing that, the decision of the Lebanese national resistance to the occupation and the decision of the military challenge to fascist Phalangist dominance, which sought shelter in the occupation, proceeded to constitute the Lebanese national forces' historic revolutionary response to the bourgeois regime's shift to this advanced stage of its class dominance, which was factional in character. The historic victories the Lebanese national struggle realized in the sphere of resisting the Israeli enemy and standing up to Phalangist-fascist dominance (especially the war of the mountain, the uprising of Beirut and the suburbs, the elimination of the 17 May agreement and the expulsion of the Marines) proceeded once again, objectively, to unleash the revolutionary process which was aimed at bringing the financial gang's regime as far down as possible, after it had regressed as a result of the Israeli aggression and before that the 1976 relapse.

#### Four Bases for National Democratic Revolution

It was natural, indeed inevitable, that this revolutionary process would derive scope for its emergence from the Lebanese civil war, once the fascist forces seeking shelter in the occupation had imposed civil war as a means for imposing their dominance on the country. This revolutionary process is what we call the "national democratic revolution." This designation is founded on four bases:

The first basis is the nature of the stage the struggle in the country is passing through, that is, the degree of ripeness of the objective circumstances for radical change as a result of the predicament and collapse of the Lebanese bourgeois system and its failure to bring the country out of its crisis.

The second basis is the nature of the tasks which, if achieved, will in effect bring the country out of its crisis.

The third basis is the nature of the social (and political) forces which will be in charge of carrying these tasks out.

As for the fourth basis, that is the role of the working class, its political party and its direct allies in this struggle, embodied in the progressive parties, the program they contribute and the direction in which they are working to drive the struggle.

It would not be harmful for us to pause to consider each of these bases, if only briefly, to see whether they exist or not and what the conditions for having them come into existence are.

As regards the first basis, the draft central committee report to the party thinks it likely that the objective circumstances for change in the country could ripen. The draft report presents the exacerbation of the crisis of the regime in various fields, the regime's arrival at a predicament in the domestic arena, political and democratic arena and socioeconomic arena, and the report presents tangible examples of that. It reviews the collapse in the foundations of the haute bourgeoisie's dominance of the country, the collapse of its system as a result of its crisis, which reached its peak under the influence of the failure of its option, which is founded on national treason, and the success of the struggle against the occupation and its national plans.

#### A Comprehensive Crisis Is Simultaneously Encompassing the Entity and the Political-Economic-Social System

However, the draft report presents a notion of the utmost importance. It analyzes the interconnection among the factional dominance the current political regime guarantees, the nature of the economic-social system founded on a free economy, the Lebanese entity and the separatist view of the entity as one distinct from other Arab entities and hostile to Arabhood.

While some pillars of the regime cite this point in order to justify the continuing factional dominance and the continuing free economic system, we, conversely, are aware of this interconnection and present it in order to stress that in the context of the impossibility of finding a solution to the crisis in the country through which the factional privileges leading to hegemony will continue, the struggle against these privileges must be linked to the struggle against the system of "the free economy" from the ground up and to the struggle to change the view of the entity in a manner which will strip it of its separatist nature hostile to Arabhood and will establish it as an Arab entity like other ones, qualified for national unity along with the other countries of the Arab nation when their circumstances mature and when the proper democratic bases for establishing unity are provided.

While what the traditional separatist view of the entity means is opposition to and distinctiveness from fraternal Syria, the criterion in the national view of the entity lies in the distinctive relationship with fraternal Syria and the need to advance it in various areas to the point of unity. Our understanding therefore of the crisis of the system indicates that it is a comprehensive one, one which simultaneously encompasses the entity and the political-economic-social system.

## The Bourgeoisie Is Faced with the Objective Impossibility of Reimposing Its Class Dominance

In addition to that, the draft report adds a basic deduction whose elements are that the objective foreign and domestic factors which led in the past to the establishment of the Lebanese politico-economic system and its prosperity and consolidation no longer apply today. Here the issue is related to the general crisis of capitalism in our era and the relationship of regional forces, under the effect of the failure of the Israeli aggression, the contraction of the oil boom, Lebanon's loss of its intermediate role between the imperialist West and the Arab hinterland and other factors which do not just shed light on the reasons for the bourgeoisie's loss of its dominance over the country but also stress the objective impossibility of enabling the bourgeoisie to reimpose its class dominance in accordance with the same bases as the past.

A quantum change must occur in the country. Radical reform must be imposed so that the country may emerge from its crisis.

What is this reform and what are the tasks it presents? These are the issues related to the second basis.

Here, the draft report refers back to the formulation of the national democratic reform program and its sections in various areas, starting with the consummation of the struggle for independence and establishment of the country's Arab identity and passing through the creation of radical change in the political system, based on the total abrogation of political factionalism, and democratic reconstruction of the government's representative and executive bodies and its civil and military institutions, especially the army, to economic, social and cultural reform and reform in the area of foreign policy. It is not necessary to repeat that the sections of this program are essentially those which appeared in the joint statement of our party and the Progressive Socialist Party, then in the program of the National Democratic Front, and complemented more than one document of the National Federation Front declaration in Shaturah.

### Meeting the Minimum Necessary Subjective Conditions

As for the third basis which must be provided in order to round out the conditions for "national democratic revolution," these are related to the social and political forces that are qualified to carry this program out, that is, to advance the revolutionary process in this direction. The subjective element in the revolution cannot be totally separated from the objective element, although it does not just constitute part of the objective element. Unless the minimum necessary components of the subjective element are met and it is able to perform revolutionary tasks, the revolutionary party cannot present the task of making the national democratic revolution triumph as a task in the context of the direct struggle in this historic era. In this case it will remain a "historic" task, that is, a long-term future one.

The draft party central committee report assumes the presence of the minimum subjective conditions which can push the revolutionary process toward these

goals. As for the social forces, these are the working class in urban and rural areas, the broadest groups of the lower and mid-level government employees, wage-earners, the middle and blue-collar classes in the urban areas, the peasants and small and medium farmers in the rural and urban areas, some representatives of groups whose interests are connected to the industrial and agricultural sector and the productive section of the service sector, and the public of young people, students, women and intellectuals.

Whether or not these social groups have failed to assume tangible, specific concrete form, and regardless of the concomitant circumstances of the current factional and doctrinal rift, the will of the broadest of these classes and the interests of the broadest of these classes in change have acquired more than one manifestation.

The draft report pauses before the basic newly-arisen conditions which have occurred in these social groups' situation under the influence of the occupation, the civil war and the aggravation of the economic and social crisis and also pauses to contemplate the phenomenon of the redistribution of wealth in geographic, factional and social terms (the emergence of new war rich due to their positions in the military conflict), to assert that these changes are not inhibiting the revolutionary process but are providing it with greater and greater incentives. The numerical shortage in the working class and in manpower in the urban and rural areas does not negate this class' revolutionary role, and the resumed expansion of farming and its reliance on small and medium production increase the role of the peasants and small farmers. As for the generation of young people and students and the public of women and intellectuals, that is becoming more and more won over to the process of revolutionary change.

The partial redistribution of wealth does not alter the fact that needs are increasing and urgent as far as the overwhelming majority of the people is concerned. Such wealth, which is easily accumulated, often goes easily, and activities of "extortion" and theft offer only temporary partial solutions for a few hundreds of people. Where are the interests of the overwhelming majority of the masses whom the socioeconomic crisis is grinding down, this crisis which the crisis of the pound today is exacerbating, the civil war is deepening and the occupation is aggravating?

The Question Revolves about the Position of the Socialist Party and AMAL

On top of this view of the social forces, the draft central committee report pauses before the political forces which are being summoned to struggle on behalf of consummating the national democratic program for change. Do these forces exist? The report answers yes -- in general they are the ones which once rallied together in the context of the National Federation Front, in addition to a number of democratic Christian currents and forces which are gradually being liberated from the dominance of factionalism and have moved away from the grip of the Phalange.

While this issue has been determined in the case of national and progressive parties and forces in whose representative character no concomitant factional or doctrinal circumstances exist, since they objectively assume the

position of protagonists of democratic change, regardless of given manifestations in their tactical platform, the question assumes an urgent character in the case of the positions of the Progressive Socialist Party and the AMAL movement.

We find it likely that the Progressive Socialist Party will not just engage in the struggle for the sake of democratic change but will also constitute a basic pillar in this struggle. The base on which this is founded is the borders in the mountains, and they can be protected and maintained only if the national democratic plan with its national dimension returns to dominate the nationalist ideological position and regulate the relationship among national forces. Doctrinal considerations weaken the Progressive Socialist Party and do not strengthen it. The role of the Progressive Party and its chairman is basic in the domestic, democratic and national contexts.

The main struggle revolves about the position and stand of the AMAL movement. We are certain that the matter has not yet been settled, and we will continue to favor the likelihood that the AMAL movement will constitute a basic pillar in the national democratic plan, when the growing deviation in the factional and doctrinal current which is almost proceeding to destroy the whole domestic situation and ultimately the AMAL movement, and its masses and domestic goals which are essential to that likelihood, is curbed. The broad current of the people which the AMAL movement represents expresses broad social forces' interest in pressing through the struggle of liberation and waging the battle of change on behalf of eliminating factional hegemony and establishing the alternative democratic system. It goes without stating that doctrinal ideology will not achieve this result and if it is sanctified as a current and as practice will eliminate the national symbols in the AMAL movement, foremost among them the movement's chairman, Nabih Birri, so that a complete doctrinal situation which only the fundamentalist religious current which is able to push it to the limit will be in harmony with, will be strengthened.

The importance of the struggle over the AMAL movement and its position concerns the issue of the destiny of the national plan or at least the course the national plan will take in order to triumph. There is no doubt that the forces of the national democratic plan are faced with a decisive turning point and an important fork in the road -- whether the national democratic platform is to triumph, or the doctrinal platform is to triumph and dominate.

Pushing through the Struggle for Liberation and Change Is Contingent on Settling the Struggle in the National Ranks

There will be no scope for the struggle to achieve total liberation, bring down the Phalangist authorities and realize a minimum of reform to succeed as long as this struggle proceeds from a factional and doctrinal position. Victory in this struggle has become contingent on the contraction of the schismatic factional-doctrinal platform and the triumph of the national democratic platform. Settling the struggle in the national ranks, within the forces of change, has become a necessary condition for meeting the other conditions in behalf of resolving the struggle against the essential enemy.



If the doctrinal platform prevails and dominates national decisionmaking and the national areas, the country will become increasingly engulfed in its predicament, the Phalangist regime will further its relative immunity and the issue of change, as a result of that, will be set back for an unforeseeable period, until the time when the democratic forces return to leadership of the struggle. If the national democratic non-factional platform triumphs, broad scope for crushing the forces of the fascist plan and getting the country out of its crisis will open up in a manner which will protect its independence and existence, will assert its Arabhood and will realize its people's aspirations for democratic development.

The doctrinal-factional platform is basically a reaction to the effect of the plan of factional hegemony which reached its peak with the establishment of the Zionist-Phalangist alliance. In one of its stages it was part of the national democratic platform because it was directed against the occupation and against hegemony. However, it cannot, by itself, constitute a program for a national solution or a program for change.

Taking it as a point of departure for the national solution and a basis for confronting the plan of Phalangist factional dominance will objectively make it part of the plan of factional dominance, not an element in opposition to it. It will serve the Phalangist plan rather than disturb it. It will fragment the national forces and unify the forces of the adversary. It will fragment the forces of change on a doctrinal and political basis by conflicting with the other factions and non-factional national parties and with the national progressive forces. It will thus increase the internal contradictions of its forces themselves and will engulf them in fragmentation and domestic internecine strife, while, conversely, unifying the forces of the adversary in defense of their positions, guaranteeing them the mobilization of the broadest masses to defend Phalangist dominance on a basis of self-defense and affording them the chance to seek the aid of Arab and international public opinion, which cannot join ranks with forces that, in the name of the national cause, are trying, from a factionalist position, to replace factional dominance with factional dominance of the same nature.

If doctrinal thinking is dominant in the struggle, the doctrinal plan hostile to Phalangist dominance will find itself adopting the very characteristics of the Phalangist plan, indeed its very positions vis-a-vis the basic national, democratic and domestic issues, and will resort to the same techniques and engage in the same practices domestically (relative to the other forces in its areas of dominance in terms of factions and political parties) and abroad (relative to the issue of the Palestinian presence, and indeed nationwide issues as a whole). If one is to discuss the forms of protection it will receive, it will find itself turning to demand Israeli protection, since Israel is the party with an interest in the spread of the platform of doctrinal and factional fragmentation of the Lebanese entity and the other Arab countries' entities. Then it will certainly assume a position hostile to Arabhood, from a separatist, secessionist premise or from an Islamic internationalist one.

It is clear that the spread of the doctrinal platform will lead to the fragmentation of the country and the sanctification of embattled contons without

scope even for a solution of a confederate nature among them, as their forces become exhausted and they subsequently collapse in the face of the foreign danger embodied in the plan of Zionist dominance, thus preparing for the return of Phalangist-factional hegemony to the country once again.

Doctrinal ideology is not only incapable of guaranteeing a national solution -- indeed, it does not guarantee the interests of the factional masses mobilized behind its protagonists. The most prominent example of that is the parent doctrinal-factional plan, the plan of Phalangist fascist secessionist dominance, and the harm it has inflicted on the Christian masses.

There is no doubt that the dilemma of the factional-doctrinal ideological premise is increasing and the contradictions within the forces of change are becoming exacerbated as a result of that.

The scope for the future development of the country, the scope for revolutionary change within it, will stand out in the light of the consequences of the conflict among these contradictions.

#### The Role of the Working Class, Its Political Party and the Party's Allies

The fourth basis is the role of the working class, its political party and its party's direct allies. This factor is of the essence in the question whether or not the subjective circumstances are able to benefit from the maturation of the objective circumstances in order successfully to pursue the process of revolutionary change. Broad debate is taking place on this subject, within the party, throughout the country. In this debate, two erroneous currents stand out. The first exaggerates the role of the party, in terms of making it bear the responsibility for all the negative features which predominate on the national stage or in terms of appraising its ability to settle the struggle rapidly on its behalf and consequently holding it to account for its inadequacy in this framework. The second takes a fatal pessimistic view which causes it not just to belittle the party's role and weight but also casts doubt on all chances for democratic development in the foreseeable range and describes the party's ideological premises as unrealistic and unrelated to the actual development of the struggle! Alongside these two tendencies there stands a third current which vacillates between events, with one event taking it back and one event restoring it, and shifts from the most extreme optimism to the most extreme pessimism from one day to the next.

This part of the report deals not with the organizational and mass aspect of party activity but with the political role and position it occupies in its capacity as the party of the Lebanese working class. We can stress, without fearing exaggeration and without rushing after tangible examples and proof, which are numerous, that our party has played a vanguard role in the national and democratic struggle the country has gone through so far. Today, it occupies a vanguard position in this struggle and sets out a vanguard program for the development of the revolutionary process in the future. This is what makes it faithful to its historic mission as a working class party. The revolutionary process will not triumph and realize its goals unless this party plays its revolutionary role in the fullest fashion.

The vanguard character of this role does not automatically mean a leadership role -- rather, it constitutes the basis for the orientation toward this role through a long harsh struggle filled with sacrifices.

#### The Vanguard Role of the Party in Conspicuous Stands

The vanguard nature of the party has become conspicuous in a number of stands, most important of which are:

- A. Anticipating the aggression, being aware of its goals and demanding that it be challenged and its consequences thwarted.
- B. Participating in the front lines against the aggression, in defense of the country's national independence, unity and Arabhood.
- C. Taking the initiative to form the Lebanese front of national resistance to the occupation, embarking on the initial operations of the resistance, working perseverantly through armed struggle and nurturing the resistance in qualitative and quantitative terms.
- D. Taking the initiative of armed response to the armed reactionary repression of the Phalange party in the mountains by establishing the mountain war of liberation (the battle of al-Qarriyah, the battle of Kafr Matti and operations against the Phalange and the uprising of the suburbs and Beirut).
- E. Taking the initiative of exposing the goals of the American military presence, standing up to it politically and embarking on military operations against it.
- F. Taking the initiative to assemble the broadest forces of the national ranks in a broad front (the Front of National Salvation) to confront and thwart the 17 May agreement.
- G. Promoting the ranks of the forces advocating awareness of Syria's major position and the exceptional importance of relying on its support in succeeding in the struggle of liberation, establishing the country's Arab identity and putting it on the road to democratic development.
- H. Being bold in promptly raising the need for organizing the Lebanese nationalist relationship to the Palestinian revolution and the masses of the Palestinian camps in Lebanon on the basis of national alliance against the Israeli enemy and his goals.
- I. Standing up to the platform of deviation in the leadership of the Palestinian revolution (the Tripoli events) and acting perseverantly for the unity of all the Palestinian forces hostile to the platform of capitulation which are working to restore the Palestine Liberation Organization to its vanguard position hostile to imperialism, Zionism and reaction.
- J. Taking the initiative of presenting the tasks of the country's democratic development, while emphasizing the importance of eliminating political factionalism and creating qualitative change which will deal with the overall aspects of the political-economic-social system.

K. Taking the initiative of setting out a platform regarding the struggle which is distinctive from the factional and doctrinal one and participating actively in the establishment of the National Democratic Front, the National Federation Front and all frameworks of cooperation founded on fronts, out of concern to restore the national democratic plan and its forces to the basic position in management of the struggle.

L. Placing permanent vanguard emphasis on the role of socioeconomic reform in every democratic reform which is aimed at bringing the country out of its dilemma, at engaging in bold, permanent struggles for the sake of the direct interests of the working class, the toilers of the rural areas and the other groups of the people and at engaging in democratic struggles in all their forms, and on pursuit of a vanguard role in the struggle to combat inflation, which is assuming numerous forms in the current stage.

M. Standing up to the attempts at factional and doctrinal discrimination and excesses which harm the citizens' struggle in the national areas and working to mobilize the masses and all democratic forces to defend their right to existence and security and their freedoms in confronting the wanton climate Beirut is experiencing, manifestations of tyranny and nihilism, doctrinal fragmentation and class premises.

N. Constantly asserting the nationwide nature of the struggle and the firm interconnection between the destiny of our struggle in Lebanon and the destiny of the Arab national liberation movement and strengthening combative solidarity with fraternal Syria, the Palestinian revolution, the Libyan Jammahiriyyah, Algeria, Democratic Yemen and all the forces of the Arab national liberation movement facing the aggression.

O. Permanently adhering to the proper internationalist position, which is aware of the position the struggle in our country occupies within the comprehensive struggle for existence going on in our era between the forces of liberation, socialism and peace, headed by the Soviet Union, and the forces of imperialism, Zionism, war and aggression, headed by American imperialism.

Why are we presenting these points regarding the party?

We are presenting them to assert that the vanguard role of the working class and its Communist Party in the revolutionary process does not of necessity mean that the party of the working class alone is pursuing the struggle to carry out the tasks that have been set forth or that it is directly leading the struggle to carry out these tasks. Rather, it means, in the first place, that this party is able, through its struggle and its self-sacrifice in struggle, and by occupying a central place in the struggles, to turn these tasks, which have been defined in precise scientific form, into general national ones, into general ones for the masses, tasks in whose name all forces will enroll in the struggle, without devoting great attention to those forces which rise to the surface of events during a given stage of the struggle to realize a given task and, for a period of time, seem to be the basic force, the ones realizing the accomplishments and, therefore, the ones which possess them and monopolize them and their results, but are temporary phenomena which must be put to use and dealt with flexibly and boldly.

Moreover, we are presenting these points to remind one that on every occasion we presented a new watchword ahead of time (armed resistance, liberation, the uprising of Beirut, the armed challenge to Phalangist dominance, elimination of political factionalism, the national democratic plan, the national alliance and so forth).

It appeared, as far as many circles of the people and political circles were concerned, that the realization of a given task was an impossibility, since it possessed no material ingredients for success, but we relied in our presentation of these watchwords and tasks on our scientific analysis, which arose from the scientific theory we embrace, a theory strengthened by the experience of the international revolutionary movement, from our awareness of the nature of the current international and regional struggle and from our confidence in the masses of the people and progressive forces, especially our confidence in the working class and our party and in its ability to offer a vanguard model in its political plan, its revolutionary struggle and all its practices.

#### Two Basic Facts Which Cannot Be Eliminated

Of course the party has not been able to give embodiment to its role through a specific political weight and political magnitude within the basic contexts which today are concerned with seeking to find solutions to the Lebanese crisis.

This matter is to be taken for granted as far as we are concerned. It is expressive of a class position vis-a-vis the party around which the enemy sometimes concurs with some allies. However, that does not hide two basic facts, the first of which is that what the party propounds imposes itself on every context of discussion, whether party representatives are absent or present at the existing contexts of discussion, and the second of which is that there is no chance of arriving at a solution to the Lebanese crisis unless the working class, its party and its direct allies have an active role.

Every experience, so far, confirms this fact. The position vis-a-vis the party (and allied progressive parties) has become a real criterion of the seriousness of the approach toward the proper road to a solution.

#### Asserting the Correctness of the Party's Strategic Watchword of Struggle

We proceed, from all this, to assert the correctness of our raising the tentative strategic watchword of struggle concerning the need to consummate the national democratic revolution. At the peak of the conflagration of civil war, in both its aspects -- the struggle to liberate the territory from occupation and the struggle against Phalangist dominance and toward destruction of the system of hegemony -- we are making every class and every social group bring forth its program which proceeds from its interests and its class view of the struggle. While the dominant classes of the bourgeoisie are hoping, through civil war, to reassert their dominance over the country by relying on the facts of the Israeli occupation and the American invasion, and while other circles of the bourgeoisie are hoping, through civil war, to



review the way dominance by the bourgeois system is imposed by reapportioning positions of influence within their stipulated positions, the working class and its direct allies are engaged in this civil war, which was imposed by the occupation and the plan of fascist dominance, through the perspective of successfully bringing the country out of its crisis by bringing about radical revolutionary change which will ensure the requirements for consummating the struggle of liberation, will establish the country's Arab identity by proper criteria, will restore it its unity on firm foundations and will permit it politically, economically and socially to develop in a democratic manner. The working class, through its vanguard party and its direct allies, considers that the revolution must not be halted in the middle of the road. That would entail the death of the revolution and the reinvigoration and triumph of the forces of counterrevolution. Half-way solutions proved their failure, even before the dominant bourgeoisie's shift to national treason. How will it be if treason leads to the destruction of the country in terms of its identity, economy and destiny?

### The Dangers of Stopping Halfway along the Road and Turning back

Pursuing the revolution to the end, in light of the nature of the stage, means carrying out the tasks of the national democratic revolution. In accordance with this position the working class presents the true perspectives for putting an end to the civil war by means of a national solution which will respond to the interests of the overwhelming majority of the Lebanese and the higher domestic and national interests.

This alone is the proper strategy on which the party of the working class can rely. Any other strategy will lead to one of two things, endorsing the modest ceiling of some bourgeois Lebanese parties which have no goal in change except change in the structure of their class faction-oriented dominance of the country or removing oneself and retreating from the struggle, on the argument that it is a struggle which is taking place between forces which are similar in their enmity to liberation and democracy, that the working class has no connection to it and they are continuing to maintain their combative role against the occupation, and summoning them to radical democratic change without entering into civil war because it is the war of "others," the war of "factions" (as they say) while their own war is a war against all factions and all factional individuals (as they say).

### The Role of the Party of the Working Class in the Struggle

The working class and its party cannot remain apart from the struggle and the battle to influence the struggle from their class perspective. Consequently, the party of the working class is embarking on the struggle, by means of the civil war, from its specific class position and is trying to constitute one of the basic poles of attraction in it, struggling decisively through all its resources, with its revolutionary allies, to realize its revolutionary program. The party believes that its program for revolutionary change, the program of the working class and all toiling people, responds to the interests of the broadest classes of the people and its entry into this war in the name of the working class and its allies opens it up to every possibility, the possibility of victory and the possibility of defeat. While

history has witnessed the victory of numerous revolutions, it has witnessed the defeat of revolutionary movements in more than one area and country. It has also witnessed the failure of given revolutionary movements at certain stages, then their relaunching and success at other later stages. We today in Lebanon are also facing these possibilities, and we stress once again that the success of the working class in its struggle, its success in the triumph of the national democratic revolution, is linked today to the orientation which is destined to prevail within the forces for change -- the doctrinal orientation or the national democratic one with its nationwide dimension. The working class is a principal part of this struggle. It prefers the triumph of the national democratic orientation, having the various parties which are zealously pursuing the doctrinal platform become convinced in the issue of change, convinced that there is no scope for this platform and that its harm for the national resurgence as a whole and for national and domestic gains is unlimited.

#### The Other Possibility and the Task Which Has Been Presented

This possibility continues to exist, although its attainment could pass through a stage of tensions and conflicts which we are constantly seeking to contain and subject to the unremitting attempt to reach agreement over basic issues which bring people together. However, the other possibility also has been raised for discussion. Events could develop and confront us with a comprehensive clash, with the forces which have been assiduously devoted to the platform of doctrinal fragmentation on the national stage standing on one side of it and the forces of the national democratic plan standing on the other. We will work to avoid this as much as possible. However, if it cannot be avoided, we will work to ensure that dominance goes to the forces of the national plan. If that happens, broad horizons will open up for the revolutionary process to develop with accelerating strides, and the true revolutionary forces, by means of this position, will find many allies on the Lebanese stage, as they will find natural allies in the Arab national liberation movement (the Palestinian revolution and Syria).

However, if the doctrinal plan realizes a temporary victory, it will drive the forces of democratic change to retreat and the struggle against factional fragmentation will assume another longer, more complex and more costly character but dominance will not go ultimately to the platform of doctrinal fragmentation, no matter how much time is required. It will not be able to offer any solution to any of the country's problems, will lead the country to an additional dilemma, and will find itself, whenever it advances, advancing down the road of its own dilemma. The struggle toward the triumph of the national democratic revolution will continue, then, in other forms, and the war will not assume geographical positions but the struggle of political and social stands and positions by democratic means, if that is possible, or military means if that is imposed on the forces of revolutionary change.

#### National Democratic Revolution Is a Harsh Combative Task

From the foregoing, it is clear how harmful this simplistic view of the national democratic revolution is, in terms of enthusiasm for it on the one hand and in rejection of it on the other -- how harmful the conception of

its easy, rapid current victory is, and how more harmful the conception of the impossibility of its triumph, and consequently renunciation of it, endorsement of the bourgeoisie's ceiling and evolution into an appendage of a bourgeois party are. It is a long, harsh, difficult task, filled with sacrifices, which we are proposing to the forces of revolutionary change in our country. There is no doubt about that, and no doubt that legitimate grumbling about conditions leaves an effect on people, including the fighting men of labor who possess the greatest conviction, general fatigue leaves its effect, and the denial of scope to direct easy solutions plays its part in particular.

However, what distinguishes the working class and its revolutionary party is their ability, more than others, to wage a lengthy, harsh struggle and their conviction that there is no escape from this struggle. Halfway solutions are intractable, not because we do not want a halfway solution -- we are in favor of any truce, if only temporary, which will afford room for a respite and a halt to the deterioration of conditions; we are in favor of any solution, if only temporary, which is characterized by a modicum of nationalist and democratic attributes. We have supported every attempt in this direction; no halfway solution in this direction has failed because we opposed it -- rather, it has failed in spite of our support of it. Thus, we have not harbored illusions and we express once again the readiness to support every reasonable solution which internal conditions in the Lebanese and Arab contexts will permit.

#### The Basic Choice and the Actual State of the Struggle

If the struggle, in its armed perspective, comes to a halt, and if the containment of armed civil war is realized, we will not be alarmed and we will not be disappointed. Rather, we may perhaps be the ones who have welcomed that the most, because we are the ones who would most benefit by having it take place. We will pursue the struggle toward the triumph of the goals of radical change through democratic means and with reliance on the masses. This is our basic option. However, we do not harbor illusions here either. A sincere nationalist desire is one thing and the actual state of the struggle, the adversary's intentions and the nature of the scheme in the domestic, regional and international contexts is something else. The struggle will be directed toward further radicalization, toward further intensity, and the solution will be only in keeping with this nature of the struggle, and consequently will be a radical one. Therefore, while the working class, through its vanguard party, joins in the struggle to make the national democratic plan for change succeed, with all its resources, in accordance with agreement to its main foundations reached among the forces concerned with it in Shaturah, it sets its eyes, as a tentative strategic task, on a more progressive, more radical program, the program of national democratic rule, whose bases and orientations our party's second conference set out and which the draft report of our central committee is reformulating in preparation for the fifth conference, taking into consideration the newly emerging elements of the struggle since that time, in particular the Israeli aggression and the civil war.

## The Program of National Democratic Rule -- The Program of Change and the Stage of Transition to Socialism

The program of national democratic rule, which, as far as the working class is concerned, means a change in the class nature of the alliance dominant in power, has the goal of thwarting the class alliance representing the financial gang and the fanatic adherents of reaction and expressing factional class dominance of a factional character, in order to establish the power of the national democratic alliance, which represents the interests of the working class and the most extensive groups of the small and intermediate bourgeoisie, linked to the interests of the development of the domestic economy in the urban and rural areas and removed from all group and factional dominance, as an alternative to it.

National democratic rule is a transitional stage and success in it will reaffirm that the conditions for the struggle toward the transition to socialism are provided. Thus it is not the "socialist system" -- it is one of the advanced stages in the struggle toward socialism, which, as far as the working class goes, represents its strategic goal. Therefore, the draft report again cites our Lebanese Communist Party's notion on the ways for applying socialism in our country and our conception of the road for attaining that and the class alliance which is qualified to do so. This is invested with special importance in light of the total collapse of the factional bourgeois system on the one hand and some parties' occupation with offering distorted examples of revolution and socialism on the other.

In the midst of this political and ideological struggle which expresses the inflammation of the class struggle, the working class must present its view of the socialist revolution.

### Section Five: On the Arab Situation and the Need for a Revolutionary Movement of a New Type

In the fifth section, the draft report tries to present a comprehensive view of the Arab situation which is not restricted to analyzing the everyday course of the current political struggle but incisively penetrates beyond that to include a scientific view of the development of the subsequent struggle and the tasks which the party is setting before itself. It proposes this as a program for the struggle toward revolutionary change which can realize the revolutionary movement's goal of the national and social liberation of the Arab peoples.

The draft report sets forth from the objective and organic interconnection which exists between the struggle in Lebanon and the struggle in the area. While what is going on in Lebanon positively and negatively affects what is going on in the region, the fate of the struggle in Lebanon itself, in the immediate and long term, is fundamentally contingent on the fate of the struggle in the region between the forces of the Arab national liberation movement on the one hand and imperialism, Zionism and reaction on the other. The experiences of the past 10 years absolutely affirm this organic interconnection between the crisis of Lebanon and the crisis of the Middle East. When we deal with the experience of the Israeli aggression and the struggle

against it, we will realize clearly that the defeat we suffered in Lebanon was part of the defeat which the forces of the Arab national liberation movement, in particular Syria and the Palestine Liberation Movement, have suffered. In addition, the national resurgence the Lebanese scene has witnessed, while constituting one of the basic components of the general national resurgence against the aggression, relied in its success on the national resurgence which was embodied essentially in fraternal Syria's role in confronting the aggression, the Palestinian forces' role in rejecting the platform of right-wing deviation and the other Arab national liberation movement forces. The same logic of analysis is valid in explaining the causes of the current vacillation and some aspects of the regression the Lebanese national situation is experiencing today. Imperialism, Zionism and Arab and domestic reaction have launched and are launching a counterattack in confronting the Lebanese national resurgence, which depends on Syria's support and role. The cancelling of the tripartite Damascus agreement signed on 28 December 1985 was only one manifestation of this counterattack, which was aimed not at Lebanon alone but rather at the role and policy of Syria as a whole, and also the Arab national liberation movement as a whole. The negative consequences of this counterattack are still fermenting in Lebanon, and one can say, in brief, that the current deterioration in the Lebanese national situation and the vacillation which warns of a retreat from basic national gains result from the failure of having this American-Israeli-reactionary counterattack confronted by a comprehensive Lebanese-Arab-internationalist national progressive plant of attack.

However, our Lebanese Communist Party, while realizing this objective fact, is, in light of it, faced with two mistaken currents in viewing the relationship between the domestic and national factors in the struggle:

From all the facts and experiences we have gone through and are going through, we confirm, every day, more than before, that the fate of the struggle in Lebanon is firmly connected to the fate of the regional struggle and that the scope for democratic development in Lebanon is governed by the ceiling which the relationship of regional forces and the national elements influencing and defining the struggle will allow.

#### Two Mistaken Currents in the View of the Relationship between Nationalists and Revolutionaries

The first current proceeds from this interrelationship to rule out the role of the Lebanese national element and totally consigns it to some entity belonging to the nationwide element, regardless of the formulas of this consignment and in isolation from the Arab party to which it is being consigned. This position, ultimately, leads either to introversion under the low ceiling of what the current Arab situation entertains as a likelihood or to the search to transcend this ceiling by entering into the Arab "struggle of axes," that is, consigning the Lebanese national element to an Arab party which is fighting with another Arab party from its own position and not from a Lebanese national or nationalist progressive position.

As for the second current, that is the one which calls for the arbitrary, wilfull transcendence of the national situation and transformation of the



contradiction with it from a secondary one to basic, destructive internecine combat.

#### The Position of the Lebanese Communist Party

Our party's position in this area is very clear.

We proceed from a view of the actual state of the complete organic, objective interconnection between the domestic and national elements to assert the following points:

1. The domestic element is not a negative one which absorbs the influence of the national situation without influencing it. Indeed, to the contrary, it is one of the components of the national realm and constitutes the main element in the national resurgence in Lebanon. On this point, we have the example of the Lebanese national perseverance in confronting the aggression, the takeoff and development of the Lebanese national resistance and other aspects of the Lebanese national struggle against the Israeli occupation and against American control and fascist Phalangist dominance.

#### On the Subject of the National Struggle

2. On the subject of the national struggle, we are at all times anxious to define the main enemy and the main tasks and, in the light of that, to define our basic and secondary alliances and the priorities of our struggle with the basic and secondary enemies. Although this position, on some occasions, might seem apparently not to be harmonious, at a specific moment, with a specific conception of the national interest, we believe that the Lebanese national forces can have no stable gains in isolation from the interests of the comprehensive progressive national struggle.

3. If the ceiling of the national element is not in keeping with the necessary minimum of duties of Lebanese national resurgence, the party will call for a struggle to raise the level of this ceiling and create positive change in the relationship of forces on the ground to strengthen the Lebanese national plan by means of comradely, democratic dialogue, the combative experience which will consecrate it, proof of the error and harm of the form by which this nationalist position is expressing itself and the various forms of struggle to impose new states of affairs which will allow the reduction of obstacles impeding the development of the Lebanese national struggle.

#### The Party Is an Effective Force Fighting for Comprehensive National Change

4. The party does not take a frozen view of the Arab situation, that is, of the national element, and does not adopt a "watchful" attitude regarding this situation. It considers developing the Arab situation in a positive direction to be one of its main tasks and therefore, in its view of the Arab situation, is not an "observer" nor a force supporting a given tendency. It is an effective force fighting for comprehensive national change. The party tries to perform the main part of its role through the struggle it is engaged in in Lebanon and through the strength of the examples it can offer. However, another part of this role must occur in the same national

framework. We do not expect positive circumstances in the national context which will permit the development of our struggle. We are fighting for the sake of creating these positive circumstances. We are not content to raise the question: Does the Arab situation permit us to realize our Lebanese goals? Indeed, we consider that an important part of our struggle is being directed toward establishing an Arab situation which will permit us to realize these goals.

#### The Unified Arab Revolutionary Process and the Party's Tasks in This Context

We are joined in the national struggle on the basis of our "Lebanese nationalist" position, then, and our concern for the success of our Lebanese national tasks, and consider the course of the revolutionary process in the Arab countries to be an issue which concerns us directly. The revolutionary process in the Arab countries is a united one. We do not view our role in it, or that of any other Arab revolutionary force, merely to be a stand of solidarity with our Arab brothers, as is our internationalist position of solidarity with the struggles of other peoples and their revolutionary national movements. In the two direct areas, our task also becomes one of standing up to the American-Zionist-reactionary attack directed against the forces of perseverance in the Arab national liberation movement, and, in particular, seeking to strengthen Syria's perseverance, support its position in confronting this attack and strengthen the role of the forces resisting the platform of capitulation and deviation in the Palestinian revolution; working so that the Palestine Liberation Organization may regain its true unity and vanguard position in the Arab national liberation movement on sound bases; supporting the resistance of the Libyan Arab Socialist People's Jamahiriyyah in confronting the vile American aggression so that it will be able to continue and develop its platform hostile to imperialism and its role in the national liberation movement; strengthening Algeria's perseverance in facing imperialist pressure; contributing to Democratic Yemen's emergence from the painful crisis it has been going through in a manner which will preserve its position of hostility to imperialism; strengthening the role of the Yemeni Socialist Party in all areas; supporting the Egyptian national movement in its struggle to free Egypt from the destructive results of the Camp David agreements; supporting the Sudanese national movement and the Sudanese Communist Party in the struggle to strengthen the democratic development in the Sudan; supporting the struggle of the Iraqi Communist Party and the democratic forces in Iraq on behalf of containment of the destructive Iraqi-Iranian war; and supporting the struggles of the revolutionary national movement in the countries of the Gulf, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Tunisia and Somalia on behalf of democratic change and liberation from all forms of subordination to imperialism.

One of our Lebanese tasks becomes that of asserting the call for unity in progressive confrontation among the forces of perseverance in the Arab context -- national regimes, revolutionary forces and people's movements -- against the reactionary Zionist imperialist onslaught.

We consider it one of our constant tasks, also, to work to strengthen front-oriented action in all its forms, in the Arab people's conference and other

political formulations of united Arab national action, and to support organizations of an Arab character in the framework of workers' unions, organizations of young people, women, lawyers, teachers and intellectuals and other organizations, not to speak of participating in all symposia of a specialized character in the framework of the Arab region, the Mediterranean area or the world.

#### The Issue of Revolutionary Change in the Arab Situation

The draft report, in the fifth section, deals in particular with the issue of revolutionary change in the Arab situation in a form which will permit the Arab national liberation movement to be delivered from its crisis and in this regard concludes by reaffirming the importance of establishing an Arab revolutionary movement of a new kind which will be able to lead the Arab peoples' national revolutionary struggle toward the realization of its goals. While the draft report specifies once again that the basic struggle revolves about the "national issue," it gives this issue its modern scientific notion as that of the Arab countries' attainment of full liberation from all forms of imperialist dominance and imperialistic subordination, the creation of revolutionary change in every Arab country and the general Arab context and the attainment of national unity in a feasible, realistic form or forms as defined by the historic conditions for the development of the revolutionary process in a specific Arab country, or two or more countries, and in all Arab countries in general.

#### The Organic Interconnection of Features of the Struggle over the National Question

The report concentrates on showing the organic interconnection between the aspects of the struggle regarding these various facets of the "national question." It also concentrates on the organic interconnection and dialectical relationship between what is domestic and what is national, deducing from all that the existence of the material basis of the unified Arab revolutionary movement, and indeed the historic inevitability of its emergence.

The draft report then spells out the most important issues around which the struggle resolves as components of the national question, in its new modern conception, as the following: the Palestine cause, the cause of the liberation of the occupied territories, resistance of the occupation, the cause of liberating national resources and carrying out the missions of economic, social and cultural improvement and development, the cause of Arab unity, the cause of democracy, the cause of the struggle for the sake of world peace and the cause of the struggle for the sake of democratic change.

#### Establishment of an Arab Revolutionary Movement of a New Type As a Direct Task

Following the review and discussion of the alternatives set forth, including the religious alternative, the draft report summarizes by setting out the task of establishing an Arab revolutionary movement of a new type as one of the direct tasks of the Communist parties and revolutionary forces which concur with them over the need for revolutionary change, pausing in

particular to contemplate the nature of the class alliance in this movement and propounding general bases and general conceptions for its establishment, leaving the task of attaining it to life, combative experience and more comprehensive Arab revolutionary discussion.

This presentation in the draft report constitutes an affirmation, development and supplement to the contents of the previous party conferences, in particular the fourth national conference, which is endowed with special importance in this Arab situation per se and in the Lebanese situation specifically. It sketches out the scope for radical revolutionary change and asserts its inevitability and the inevitability of its triumph, while not missing the chance to assert how difficult, serious and radical in nature the struggle which can realize such a victory would be and how vast its cost would be. While it stresses the firm bond between the scope of this revolutionary change in Lebanon and the course of this revolutionary process in the national context, it does not settle for repeating the question on whether or not the regional situation and the national element specifically are suitable for the successful development of the revolutionary process in Lebanon. Rather, it draws up the combative tasks which will contribute to the establishment of a regional situation, to the ripening of a national element which is favorable, indeed helpful, to consummating the process of revolutionary change and to confronting the questions and objections concerning the extent to which these tasks are realistic and the length of time for arriving at them. We must once again remind one that we are a party of the working class, we are the proponents of a scientific, radical class view of the development of the struggle and we are the force most qualified to succeed in this struggle, because we are the most able to enter into long, severe, difficult struggles with radical objectives. The road which we are sketching out, in spite of its length, its difficulty and its dangers, remains the shortest one toward liberation because it is the only one which will reach this goal, while the other roads, which seem shorter and less costly, are blocked in their horizons, go about in a vicious circle, waste powers and increase sacrifices without leading to the desired result.

#### Section Six: The Main Trends in the International Situation

As for the sixth part of the draft report, this, in the course of its review of the major trends in the international situation, asserts that the most important change to have been realized in the international situation since the late seventies is the termination of imperialism's strategic superiority and the establishment of a new balance of powers between the system of socialist countries and its vanguard, the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the imperialist camp, headed by the United States of America, on the other. This quantum change which has occurred in the balance of powers has come about as a result of the great successes the Soviet Union has achieved in all areas of economic, scientific and technological life and the weight the system of socialist countries has attained in international life.

It has also come about as the fruit of the giant efforts in the struggle toward international peace and security and protection of the gains of socialism which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is waging and as the fruit of the struggle of the national liberation movements in the

international context and all democratic forces in the world, in the first place the working class in the capitalist countries.

While the Soviet Union is making efforts to put the new strategic balance to use essentially to build sound international relations founded on detente and cooperation in all areas, eliminate tension, accelerate disarmament and eliminate the danger of nuclear catastrophe, the most reactionary imperialist circles are escalating their campaign to regain their superiority and impose their solutions and will as regards all the pending international issues and the relationship between East and West in particular.

#### The Nonaligned Movement

While the independence of a number of developing countries and their pursuit of the road of independent development at varying rates have resulted in the attainment of a relative distinction and contradiction between themselves and the imperialist countries, sound relations have been established on the basis of cooperation and common interests between them and the countries of the socialist system.

The establishment of the nonaligned movement has constituted a manifest expression of the upsurge of new forces on the ruins of the system of colonial rule.

The establishment of this movement, which is exercising a growing role in the struggle against imperialism and racism and on behalf of peace, has played an important role in changing the balance of forces in the context of the United Nations and the organizations belonging to it on behalf of the causes of freedom and peace.

#### The Circumstances of the Establishment of the Conservative Right-Wing Wave

The draft report pauses to consider the emergence of a conservative right-wing wave which has dominated political and economic life in a large number of capitalist countries in the context of an economic, social and political crisis which has encompassed the whole capitalist world with differing manifestations and direct results. This right-wing wave became prominent following the series of defeats and blows which world imperialism, American imperialism in particular, suffered in the international arena after the consolidation of the policy of detente in the wake of the termination of imperialist military superiority and the establishment of strategic balance between the two camps, after an increasing number of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America had moved from the direct hegemony of imperialism, a number of national liberation movements had triumphed and the tendency among a number of countries of the third world to build an independent domestic economy and seek a road to development hostile to the capitalist road was consolidated. As a result of competition for markets and the deepening of the economic crisis in the advanced capitalist countries, calls for distinctiveness from the United States increased in the two capitalist groups of Western Europe and Japan.



## The Main Deduction: Ours Is the Era of the Shift from Capitalism to Socialism

In the framework of these crises, the predicament in the capitalist world and its repercussions on the countries of the third world, socialist and progressive ideas spread about in increasing form, especially in the ranks of the working class and the masses of the people, and the crisis of bourgeois thought and its inability to deal with urgent, basic issues concerning the development of society in current circumstances presented itself in a severe manner.

This picture assumes concrete form at a time when international socialism is realizing historic successes and accomplishments, stressing, in all spheres, the superiority of socialism over capitalism and the major deduction from all development processes, which is that ours is the era of the shift from capitalism to socialism and it is not in the power of the most reactionary imperialist circles to prevent this historic process of transformation, no matter how hostile the platform they pursue in international relations might be.

### Basic Contradictions

The draft report refers to the coalescence of a group of prominent struggles and contradictions which are reflected in all aspects of life, most important of which are:

A. The main contradiction between the group of socialist countries and its vanguard, the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the capitalist countries, headed by American imperialism, on the other. While all imperialistic areas have failed to diminish the socialist system which triumphed in Russia in 1917, they continue the activities of conspiracy and sabotage in all areas, without letup, up to escalating the arms race, militarizing space and bringing all mankind to the brink of nuclear catastrophe.

B. This basic contradiction between socialism and capitalism has not eliminated other basic, serious contradictions such as that within capitalist society itself. Modern capitalism's success in assimilating the achievements of the tactical revolution have not resulted in the elimination of the contradictions within capitalist society. The crisis is continuing and constantly manifests itself in the rise in the unemployment rate and the exacerbation of inflation, which results more and more in increasing the severity of the contradiction between the productive forces and private ownership of the means of production.

C. These contradictions are accompanied by contradictions among the major capitalist countries per se. These are manifested in the endeavors of the multinational monopolies dominating the basic power centers in the other countries while the major capitalist industrial countries act gradually to slip out from under this American dominance and in the process enter into serious struggles with the American monopolies. That has led to the creation of three political centers of modern imperialism, the United States of America, Western Europe and Japan.

D. Contradictions also exist between imperialism and the developing countries which assume different, diverse forms with the rapid successive changes which the developments in the countries of the third world are experiencing. The continued imposition of the rules of the capitalist market on the countries of the third world and the escalation of the process of plundering them, plundering their resources and engulfing them in debts is pushing these countries toward economic catastrophe and is consequently creating one of the greatest problems the world is facing. There will be no way out of this serious situation except by smashing the vice of imperialist hegemony and subordination to it and pursuing another road to development hostile to imperialism and capitalism whose specific forms, various stages and scope the national and revolutionary movements in these countries will choose in accordance with their particular conditions.

#### Temporary Solutions to Permanent Crises

The draft report pauses before what it calls temporary solutions to permanent crises and states that what the theoreticians of capitalism have tried in recent decades to portray as a transcendence of the economic crisis of capitalism and submission of its continuing, endemic nature have in reality only been transitory forms of relief resulting from the great effects of the tactical scientific revolution on the international economy, in addition to the increase in the rate of war production, accumulation of investment and plunder of the peoples of the capitalist countries, especially the peoples of the third world.

However, the crisis is once again looming with further severity, now that this temporary stage of relative stability has totally or nearly elapsed, and the number of the army of unemployed has risen, inflation has become aggravated, the rate of plunder of the peoples of the developing countries has increased and the most reactionary circles of imperialism, linked to the military industrial complex, have resumed pushing the world toward the further production of weapons of extermination and the arms race, up to the militarization of space, which constitutes a serious danger to international peace and security.

The draft emphasizes that the aggravated economic crisis which governs the world capitalist system and its repercussions with respect to the increased severity of contradictions among the capitalist countries, the aggravated crisis in international monetary policy and the tremendous increase in military expenditures are all driving the advanced capitalist countries to remedy their crisis by intensifying the rate of investment domestically at the expense of the countries of the third world.

The inequitable relations between the industrially advanced capitalist countries and the countries of the third world have resulted in the creation of a serious economic situation in the latter countries which has put them in a state of exacerbated economic subordination and has driven them, for the sake of remedying their growing crises and requirements, to indebtedness at high interest from the advanced capitalist countries or the World Bank. This, as a result of the mistaken development policies their rulers have relied on in this sphere or as a result of the enticements and pressures of

the monopolies and the International Monetary Fund, has inundated these countries in a financial situation which has caused the volume of debts to reach a fantastic figure close to \$1 trillion throughout the third world. It has become clear, in the light of this, that it is out of the question that these debts will be paid off and that it is necessary to find a solution whose price will not be the poverty and hunger of hundreds of millions of people and the collapse of entire countries -- indeed, where the World Bank and the major monopolies will bear the basic burden.

#### The Imperialist Platform of Aggression: Its Goals and Methods

The draft report talks about the imperialist platform of aggression, its goals and its methods. It cites the most important goals the Reagan administration has spelled out, based on the restoration of "awe" of the American state, the struggle against Communism, the restoration of "order" to the system of allied and friendly countries (that is, strengthening dominance of them or returning them to the position of obedience) and a return to the policy of positions of strength in international relations, in addition to the struggle against "terrorism," as embodied in the struggle of liberation peoples are engaging in on behalf of their independence, sovereignty and independent development.

The Reagan administration is translating its quest for these goals into the political and social oppression of every struggle for demands or democratic struggle of the American working masses and colored people. In the foreign context, this policy has been translated into the effort to assert absolute American hegemony over the destinies of the capitalist world and the countries of the third world. In this same framework, tension is being added to international relations and allied countries are being compelled to participate in bearing the burdens of the cold war and the space race, including "star wars."

The United States has resumed exercising the policy of force and military intervention against third world countries directly or indirectly, following its military defeat in Vietnam, through client governments such as South Africa, Israel and so forth. The examples of this are numerous, from America's aggression against Grenada and Libya, the repeated aggressions Israel is committing against the Arab peoples and the aggressions racist South Africa is committing against its neighbors Angola, Mozambique and Zambia, with direct American support, to impudent destructive intervention against the peoples of Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Cambodia and El Salvador and other aggressive acts.

#### The Platform of Aggression: Successes and Failures

The draft report points out that this platform of aggression has been empowered to realize some success in the context of the fragmentation of the forces hostile to imperialism, a result of lack of determination among basic forces in their positions regarding imperialism, and a fear of a radical, progressive democratic alternative on the part of other forces which is greater than the fear of imperialism and the danger that its hegemony over these countries' assets will be restored economically and politically.

Conversely, the aggressive imperialist attack failed when it came up against serious resistance and a unified, decisive position on the part of the national forces benefitting from the coalescence of the masses about a political program that was clear and well-defined in its adoption of the people's issues of living and their national and democratic issues, in its enmity to imperialism and in its alliance with the forces of freedom, socialism and peace in the world, in whose vanguard is the Soviet Union.

The draft report talks about aggressive American policy's failure to realize its goals through the platform of aggression and escalation of the arms race, which will not give an advantage to any party but constitutes an equal danger to everyone. The United States has not succeeded, either, in preventing the collapse of bloody dictatorial systems of rule in a number of areas of the world and it has not succeeded in striking out at a number of national and progressive regimes such as Ethiopia, Angola, Libya, Nicaragua, Cambodia and so forth. The direct military aggressions which the American forces have launched directly or with the aid of its two racist allies Israel and South Africa have not yielded the desired results -- indeed they have backfired against it in a number of cases. Examples of this are the Israeli-American aggression against Lebanon in the summer of 1982, the continuous aggressions against Nicaragua, the direct aggression against the Libyan Jamahiriyah and the continuous aggressions by means of mercenaries against Afghanistan, Cambodia and so forth.

#### A Firm Upsurge in Facing the Platform of Aggression and War

Under the heading "The Forces of Progress and Peace in Facing the Platform of Aggression and War," the draft report pauses to consider the firm upsurge the forces of freedom and peace in the world have experienced in facing the platform of aggression and war the United States is relying on. The constructive initiatives the Soviet Union has presented out of its desire to maintain peace and protect mankind from nuclear annihilation have met with great response in the broadest circles of international public opinion in all the areas concerned with these initiatives, including Western Europe, Asia, the countries of the Middle East and the countries of the Mediterranean area.

The movements against war and nuclear arms have assumed a mass character and the American policy of sowing nuclear missiles has met with a great resistance which still constitutes an important element in political life in a number of the countries of the world, in particular Western Europe and Japan. The American policy of aggression has started facing greater anger and rejection even in Western circles. The American aggression against the Jamahiriyah, which the American administration has covered with a campaign of hysteria against what it has called "international terrorism," has shown Washington's failure to drag its Western allies into adopting its position, except in the case of Thatcher, who is turning Britain into a country subordinate to American policy.

Attempts to tighten the American grip on the economy of the capitalist world have resulted not in alleviating the severity of the crisis but rather in aggravating it. In another area they have resulted in broad social movements

whose importance is not diminished by a relative modest retreat in the positions of some working class parties in some countries of Western Europe because of a vicious right-wing onslaught and because circumstances have come into being in which the revolutionary process in these countries is becoming complicated.

#### For the Sake of Thwarting the Onslaught of Aggression

The draft report, for the sake of thwarting the onslaught of aggression, presents the following tasks:

The forces of revolutionary change, the forces of revolution and progress and peaceloving forces should deal with the current circumstances with further initiative and realism and a greater feeling of responsibility and should work to unify the forces opposed to this comprehensive, vicious onslaught of aggression. In this regard, the issue of strengthening cooperation within the countries of the socialist system in all political, economic, intellectual and military areas assumes special importance.

#### The Role of the Soviet Communist Party's 27th Conference

The draft report emphasizes the great role the Soviet Communist Party is playing in the area of consolidating the unity, power and status of the system of socialist countries. It pauses to contemplate the Soviet Communist Party's 27th conference, which constituted a way-station of exceptional importance in this regard. This conference paused profoundly and responsibly before the new situation in the Soviet Union and in the international context, making a realistic evaluation of the tremendous developments in the nation of the first socialist state in political, military, cultural, scientific, social and military terms, on grounds that they are accomplishments of which all mankind, alongside the Soviet peoples, may be proud. The report also paused with Communist boldness before breaches and defects, with the purpose of eliminating them, advancing the socialist process of construction and benefiting from the socialist system's advantages to employ the tremendous resources available and all the powers of science and technology toward the end of proceeding with firm strides toward attaining the tasks of the construction of socialist society.

#### The Circumstances of Joint Action against the Dangers of Nuclear War

The Communist parties in the industrially advanced capitalist countries and the developing countries are playing an important and sometimes fundamental role in unifying the forces resisting imperialism and reaction. They are currently facing difficult, complex circumstances which on the one hand require deterrence of the vicious reactionary imperialist onslaught and on the other the assumption of bold creative positions vis-a-vis new realities on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific socialism, on the basis of this theory and common understanding of the new, intensely-varied, extremely rich facts and on the basis of internationalist solidarity among the various vanguard forces of the working class, while taking the special circumstances of each force into consideration. In these circumstances the issue of unity and cooperation among Communist parties in standing up to the



common enemy and in confronting the common issues the major developments in the world are raising before the peoples and their revolutionary forces is being posited with greater insistence.

The circumstances exist for joint action between the socialist countries and some capitalist ones, between the Communists and broad segments of the social democrats, democrats and Christian socialists in Europe and the whole world, in confronting the dangers of nuclear war and working for the sake of maintaining international peace and detente and stopping the arms race.

Extensive resources also exist for cooperation among all these forces and between the bulk of them and the democratic and revolutionary parties and forces in the countries of the third world on these themes and a number of issues related to the spread of arms, bases, forces and alliances, for example the Soviet initiative which calls for the transformation of the Mediterranean into a sea of peace.

#### The Alliances Which Are Required Regionally and Internationally

The draft report emphasizes that the Communist parties and revolutionary and progressive movements in the third world are being called upon to draw the necessary lessons from the developments of conditions in recent years and from their experiences in the struggle against imperialism, for the sake of a precise analysis of the nature of the stage and the programs for confronting it, by adopting a decisive, radical position on imperialism and creating the necessary combative instruments against it, with reliance on the masses and on revolutionary alliances on the regional and international levels.

The report states that tremendous social forces are enlisting in this heroic struggle on various ideological, intellectual and religious bases, and imperialism is trying to turn this diversity into rifts and side struggles so that the way will remain open to it by which it can impose its will, exploiting these contradictions and struggles and nourishing them by all ways and means. This requires exceptional effort among the more aware revolutionary forces and the Communists in particular to deal with the peripheral contradictions on the basis of the concentration of efforts in the major struggle against the enemies of peoples, imperialism, Zionism, racism and their agents.

#### The Party's Direct Tasks on the International Level

The draft report concludes the sixth section by defining the party's direct tasks in the international context. Foremost among these tasks lie:

Strengthening the relations of friendship and alliance between the forces of liberation, progress and socialism in Lebanon and the Arab world and the Soviet Union and countries of the socialist system.

Strengthening the relationship and coordinating the progressive forces of various tendencies, premises and beliefs hostile to imperialism and all forces and movements fighting on behalf of peace, resisting war and working to combine the national liberation struggle with the struggle for peace.

Fighting for the sake of turning the Mediterranean into a zone free of fleets of aggression and nuclear weapons.

Striving actually to link Lebanon to the policy of nonalignment.

Stimulating the party's participation in the area of Asian solidarity and solidarity with the peoples of Latin America and seeking to confront the Israeli onslaught, which is benefiting from the signing of the Camp David agreements.

Expanding our orientation toward world public opinion and cooperating with the Communist and labor parties and the democratic movements supporting our struggle.

Increasing attention to the party's offices abroad.

#### Section Seven: The Party

As for the seventh section, which is connected to the party, we will present its main points, which will constitute a basis for the organizational report to be presented at the organizational conference that will precede the conference.

We set these points down here as they are to constitute a basis for Communists' participation by preparing for the conference in dealing with organizational issues in all their aspects:

#### Introduction

The importance of the resolutions of the fourth conference in the organizational sphere, forging the mass, combative Communist party.

Fashioning organization contexts and forms in a manner which will permit the party to carry out the tasks its political plan requires in each stage.

#### Chapter One: From the Fourth Conference to July 1982

Preparation of the party in military areas.

The mobilization decree.

Preparation for national resistance.

Mass party action.

The renovation of the leadership boards of the party on all levels.

#### Chapter Two: The Party in Confronting the Israeli Aggression

The decision to persevere in the face of the aggression and stand up to it.

The party on all fronts, with the resistance and the other national parties.

The role of the party in the battle of the resistance of Beirut.

The military role.

The political role.

The organizational, supply and social role.

The media role (the newspaper and other media).

The party's foreign role -- the role of the party's organization abroad.

The meetings of the party's central committee in the shadow of the siege.

The deployment of the party leadership during the fighting.

Exceptional measures to confront the stage.

Chapter Three: The Party and the National Resistance to the Occupation from the Occupation of Beirut to the Abrogation of the 17 May Agreement

First: A. The party is the founder of the Lebanese National Resistance Front.

B. The party triggered the first operations.

C. The party in the operations of Beirut, the mountain, the al-Biqa' and the south up to the elimination of 17 May (the basic role) (qualitatively and quantitatively).

Second: The party in confrontation with the Lebanese Forces and the regime.

A. In the challenge in the mountain.

B. In the battle of the mountain.

C. In the first uprising of the suburbs and Beirut.

D. On 6 February.

Third: The party in standing up to the American forces.

A. The political and media challenge.

B. The military challenge.

Fourth: The party in the political uprising hostile to the occupation.

A. The numerous forms of political struggle.

B. The media and their role.

C. The policy of flexible, broad alliances.

Fifth: The party in the struggle on behalf of democracy.

Sixth: The party in the socioeconomic struggle.

In bringing about the resurgence of the union movement.

In preserving the unity of the union movement.

In launching people's and labor campaigns for the sake of urgent demands.

Seventh: The party, the main motive force of the Arab and international campaign of hostility to the occupation:

A. The party's role in the Arab context.

B. The party's role in the international framework.

C. The role of the party's organizations abroad.

Eighth: The forms of organization in the stage of challenge to the occupation:

Secrecy of organization.

Work in mass organizations.

Combination of all forms of struggle.

Deployment of leadership action in the party.

Ninth: The party as a school for combativeness and the raising of revolutionary awareness:

A. The party of martyrs.

B. The party of bold confrontations with the enemy.

C. The party, the Ansar prison and Atlit.

D. The wounded and disabled.

Chapter Four: The Party and the Stage of Mass Resurgence (Following Abrogation of the 17 May Agreement)

To the present time: the current situation and tasks:

First: The new objective circumstances most favorable for the development of the struggle.

Second: The difficulties of the situation and the concomitant elements of factional resurgence.

Third: The party, uplifter of the mass democratic resurgence.

From the May Day 1983 celebration to the celebrations of the sixtieth anniversary and their role:

Fourth: The role of the party in resistance has remained the main factor in its development from resistance to liberation.

Specific operations.

Fifth: The party takes part in standing up to the factional Phalangist plan.

Political participation.

Mass participation.

Media participation.

Military participation.

Sixth: The party and the struggle for the liberation of Tripoli.

Chapter Five: The Party's Organizational Structure and the Tasks of Its Development

First, the process of growth in the party: a critical study; increasing the number of party members is the basic task; attrition in the party and means of limiting it; the population flow and the organizational situation.

Second, attention to friends; circles of friends.

Third, the base organization; diversification of its organizational forms; its tasks, the problems of its structure its modes of action and its leadership; organization in accordance with workplace, occupation and residence.

Fourth, intermediate leadership boards:

A critical view of these boards' role and the extent of their ability to persevere in the face of difficult tasks.

Diversification of the contexts of organization and the role of intermediate boards (regional and governorate).

Fifth, the issue of the growth of party personnel in qualitative and quantitative terms:

Toward a stable, aware personnel development policy.

Party acculturation and personnel development.

A special section is necessary for personnel in the central committee.

Sixth, the party's finances:

Paying dues is a basic condition for membership and a basic criterion of organization, party discipline and oversight.



Regular donations from friends is a basic criterion for organized activity among the masses.

Increasing the party's finances is a basic task and a permanent preoccupation on the part of all comrades at various levels.

The regulation of finances and the financial system at various levels, from the team to the central financial office and the central financial audit committee.

Seventh, party publications:

Toward mass media in the party.

The role of the paper and the tasks of developing it.

The radio.

Other media.

Chapter Six: Development of Party Activity among Workers and Toilers in Rural Areas

First: In the major labor organizations (organization teams).

Second: In the basic occupations (party teams, according to occupations).

Third: In labor accumulation centers in the sections (concern for social composition and the tasks of the activity of forming district teams and distributing tasks among their members).

Fourth: Concentration on toilers in rural areas: agricultural workers and poor peasants.

Fifth: Activity among the children of workers and toilers in rural areas (young people and students of worker and poor peasant origins).

Sixth: Activity in mass organizations of workers and toilers of rural areas (union activity).

Seventh: The need to devote special attention to new party members in the labor environment and labor personnel (special acculturation and special attention from the leadership).

Eighth: Constant attention to labor's shares in the party's leadership bodies at various levels.

Chapter Seven: The Party's Activity among Various Social Groups

First: The party's activity among students and young people.

Second: The party's activity among craftsmen and small producers.

Third: The party's activity among intellectuals.

Fourth: The party's activity among women.

Fifth: The party's activity among intermediate groups.

Sixth: The party's activity among government employees and in government organizations and agencies.

Chapter Eight: Building the Communist Party Today is a Domestic and National Task (The Character of Alliance -- the Domestic and National Role)

Chapter Nine: Democratic Centralism, the Basis for Building the Revolutionary Party

First: The proper combination of centralism and democracy.

Second: The development of party democracy is the basis of party unity and the firm central base for execution.

Third: Criticism and self-criticism.

Fourth: Collective activity, the tasks spelled out before all comrades and individual initiatives.

Fifth: Constantly raising the combative spirit.

Sixth: Revolutionary awakening and maintenance of the party's safety, general awakening in all party bodies.

Continued creation of the necessary party agencies to guarantee the party's activity in all circumstances.

Seventh: Pride in belonging to the party of the Lebanese working class (party membership and firmness in defending the party).

Chapter 10: The Activity of Leadership Bodies in the Party

First, the role of the central committee between principle and practice, a critical view (the role of the central oversight committee).

Second, leadership of sectoral activity: positive and negative aspects.

Issues of coordination among sectors and the relationship between sectoral leadership, the governorate committees and the rest of the pyramidal progression in the party bodies.

Third, the political bureau.

The secretariat.

The secretary general.